Herb Wesson: Speaker-in-Waiting

California JOURNAL

NOVEMBER 2001
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Pearl Harbor and the birth of modern California

History for our times

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california JOURNAL

November 2001
Volume XXXII, Number 11

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Bustamante redux;
Umberg called up again

Rostrum
Words from our readers

Talking Points
Deconstructing lobbyists;
help for seniors

Southern Exposure
Last look at Hertzberg's reign

D.C. Perspective
A city under siege

Relevance

By A.G. Block

The best-read publication in America in 1941 was the weekly magazine, *Life*. Although its December 8, 1941 cover featured General Douglas MacArthur, it was a matter of luck. Inside, there was not one word about Pearl Harbor. That's because *Life* had gone to press before December 7. In fact, it was not until its December 22 issue that *Life* went patriotic with a full-spread American flag on the cover and publisher Henry Luce's editorial, "The Day of Wrath," inside. And so it was with our October issue, which went to press the day before the September 11 terrorist attacks. It is a challenge for a magazine to keep pace with fluid events that change by the day, if not by the hour. In this kind of uncertain world, where looking forward is glancing into a fog, it is sometimes useful to look back, to harvest what we can from history. To that end, we examine what happened to California — for good or ill — in the wake of Pearl Harbor, and the relevance of that experience to the events of 2001.

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In 1941, California became the epicenter of a war-building machine that forever altered the state's economic and physical landscape. Will this new war on terrorism also mark a sea-change for the state?
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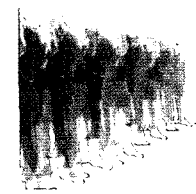

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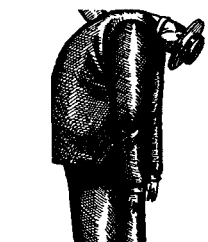

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He's a decorated veteran with a long resume' in the Veteran Affairs Department. Now, it's Tony Principi's turn to steer the troubled agency.
By Dana Wilkie

Cover by Dagmar Thompson

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umbrage

Not mincing words. What a difference a speech makes. "Even as the great towers of steel crumbled, the world learned an important truth: There is something stronger than steel. There is something stronger than hate. The strength of America is not in its buildings, not in its military, not in its financial institutions. The strength of America is in its people." With those words, Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante — not a man known for great oratory — found his political voice in the wake of a national crisis. It was much like George W., a fumbling orator who astounded even some of his harshest critics when he gave perhaps the most compelling speech of his political career in his address to Congress following the September 11 terrorist attacks. Two days after those attacks, Bustamante appeared in Sacramento's Memorial Auditorium at a public memorial service hastily convened by Sacramento Mayor Heather Fargo. The lieutenant governor was among more than a dozen religious, political and community leaders, ranging from a Baptist minister to the city's local legislators. But he was

only one of two whose words prompted a standing ovation.

The experience was a far cry from the last time that Bustamante's words jolted an audience. Earlier this year, he suffered perhaps the ultimate political embarrassment when he appeared to use the "n" word in a speech before an African-American audience. Several in attendance promptly walked out and Bustamante had to issue a contrite public apology the next day. This time around, his words had the opposite effect as 2,000 people leapt to their feet in sustained applause. "Today, we know that what the haters tried to destroy, they could never touch... Let those who would seek to destroy us see our numbers, feel our commitment, know our resolve ... that we will never allow evil to prevail. Not in our day, and not in our time. Not in our community. Not in our California. Not in our country."

Marching orders. The last time the United States geared up for war was in 1990 when we went to the mat with Iraq and Sadaam Hussein in what has become known as the Gulf War. As with the current effort against terrorism, the Gulf War was extensive enough that the Army Reserve was mobilized. One of those affected by that call-up was an assistant U.S. attorney from Santa Ana named Tom Umberg, who was a major in the Army Reserve and whose unit was activated. At the time, Umberg also was a Democratic candidate for the Assembly and had to temporarily suspend his campaign when he donned the uniform. It all worked out for Umberg, however, when he defeated Assemblyman Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove) in November 1990, and some credit Umberg's military service with providing a leg up in his victory over an incumbent GOP legislator in Orange County. Umberg left the Assembly in 1994 to run unsuccessfully for state attorney general, where he lost to Republican Dan Lungren. Now, however, he's back as challenger for the Democratic nomination for insurance commissioner. And, you guessed it. His campaign has been put on hold because Colonel Umberg has been called to colors once again — this time for Operation Enduring Freedom. According to Umberg's consultant, Richie Ross, the soldier-aspirant was forced to miss the first candidate's forum, an inconvenience that likely will be overcome when voters learn the reason for his absence.

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letters

Testing Morass

Your article on school testing ["Testing Anyone?," September 2001] misses one very crucial point. Where does the learning disabled student fit in?

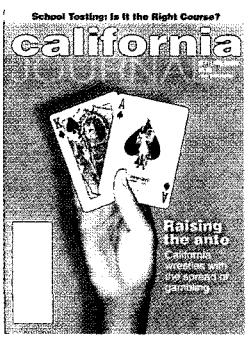
My son was (and should still be) a special education student. For some unjustified reason, he was deemed unqualified and "tested out" of the program the last quarter of sixth grade.

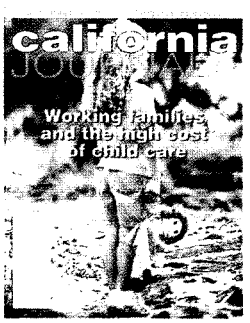
I then had him tested at UCLA's Neuro Psychiatric Institute, where it was learned that, though intelligent (high average/75th percentile), he has considerable learning disabilities.

Unless and until California schools learn that they must reach this population in a fair and effective way — and provide the kind of services that my son needs and is legally entitled to — California's test scores will continue to flounder. Children like my son can be tested, but the idea of holding him back from high school graduation because he cannot learn due to genetic neural deficiencies, is not only foolish, it is discriminatory.

I wonder if Kerry Mazzoni has a plan for these children. I'll bet she, like most politicians, hasn't even considered the need for one.

Laura Brittain
Bakersfield





I began a teaching career in 1936 and retired from teaching in 1978. My preparation included a Bachelor of Science in Education and a Masters Degree in Education, as well as certification for teaching in Kansas and California and qualification for the office of Education and Training Officer in the United States Air Force.

Let me list some of the basic concepts of good education: 1. All persons employed in the school district have one purpose: to support the classroom teacher. 2. The results of the composite test scores of a classroom or school should never be used to evaluate a teacher, since there is no way that students of intelligence quotients from 90 to 130 are equally able to perform at the same level. 3. When it is time for teacher evaluation, the evaluator should consult the class records for the ability quotient of each student before making any decision about the ability of the teacher. 4. No person should be issued an administrative credential before demonstrating quality teaching, and this should be true for anyone who is being considered for any position in which the person will have any authority to determine educational policies or to evaluate teaching personnel.

I hope this helps well-intended citizens voting for school board members or commenting on educational matters.

Morris Jones
San Diego

First daughter

Thank you for the kind mention of Maureen Reagan [Upfront, September 2001]. She was a fine lady and a good friend. But we need to remind the world that Governor Reagan supported the Equal Rights Amendment and signed the then (1967) most liberal "abortion bill" in the country. As Reagan stated:

"I am fully sympathetic with attempts to liberalize the outdated abortion law now on the law books of California."

"I am confident that the people of California recognize that need and will support the humanitarian goals of the measure as passed by the Assembly and Senate of the State Legislature."

Of course I recall it all — I was there.

Bill Bagley
San Francisco

Judging judges

In the article on ballot petitions and private property concerns ["Free Speech Versus Property Rights," September 2001], the *Journal* use the hackneyed cliches of groups who attack judges based on their appointment authorities rather than their actual decisions. I doubt you would have pointed out that Chief Justice Earl Warren was appointed by President Eisenhower when he led the U.S. Supreme Court to many landmark liberal decisions.

You should remember that the progressive Republican Hiram Johnson produced the initiative and referendum system in California. Therefore the *Journal* should not "prejudge" what a state Supreme Court will do on an issue, regardless of who appointed whom.

Al Beltrami
Ukiah

Farm lobby in Congress

What an outstanding article on California farmers and Washington, D.C. ["California Farmers Till congressional Soil," October 2001]. If it's not insulting, your article is textbook material.

Bill Alliso
Public Affairs Department
Westlands Water District

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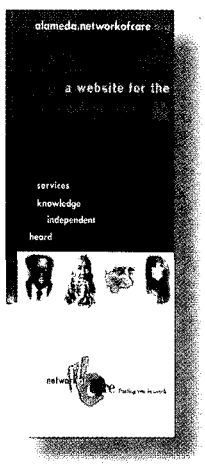
Legislating:
The fifth estate

Want to know how policy really gets made in Sacramento? Two veterans are planning to tell you. Jay Michael, a recently retired lobbyist for (among others) the University of California and the California Medical Association, has teamed up with columnist Dan Walters of *The Sacramento Bee* to "give readers a working knowledge of the policy-making process as it really functions, as opposed to the sanitized version one finds in civics textbooks." Although the old maxim about making sausage applies to making laws, the Michael-Walters collaboration provides useful insights on the deal-making that always accompanies legislation and on the growing power of lobbyists — the so-called "third house" — in this era of term limits. The book's title is "The Fifth Estate," but its subtitle reveals its true thrust: "Lobbyists, Money and Power in Sacramento." Published by the Institute of Governmental Affairs at the University of California, Berkeley, "The Fifth Estate" will be available sometime early next year.

New and Different:
Network of care

Dealing with government often means slogging through a hodgepodge of agencies, departments and officials ranging from the feds to state, county or city offices — and even special districts. For one group of users, however, that grind may become easier, thanks to a unique new Web site. Senior citizens and people with disabilities now have a one-stop location that brings together abundant information on resources, literature, government links and available products meant to assist both patients and care-givers. There is even a "legislate" section to help track important bills. Need a place to live? The resources database allows the user to search by key phrase ("accessible housing") or by one of 27 categories (from "adult care" to "visiting"). Need a wheelchair? The "assistive devices" section helps locate products and those who make and distribute them. There is even a newsletter and daily digest of relevant news. The program — put together by Integrated Resources Trilogy of Tiburon — is developed county-by-county and is currently available for Alameda and Sacramento. IRT's president is an old Sacramento hand — former Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan (D-Fresno), who headed the Assembly Health Committee during the late 1980s. His partner is Afshin Khosravi, who heads up Network of Care. You can view the site at www.networkofcare.com. The initial project was funded by an innovation grant from the California Department of Aging, but each county must allocate funds for its own link.



Quotables.....

"Well, first I want to thank God for a normal summer — not a real hot one."

— Governor Gray Davis sharing credit for the blackout-free summer in California.

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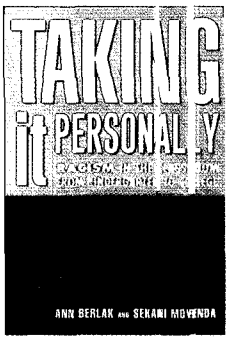
Excerpts:
From the Bookshelf

Taking it Personally
Racism and the Classroom From Kindergarten to College
By Ann Berlak and Sekani Moyenda
Temple University Press

On September 11, Californians and the nation were unexpectedly immersed in a quick sensitivity course on the Muslim religion and Islamic culture. The media and Bush administration have bent over backwards to offer support to people largely invisible until terrorists of Middle Eastern extraction brought down the World Trade Center and crippled the Pentagon.

Racism is a lesson familiar to Americans. And it is not an attitude necessarily put to rest as Ann Berlak and Sekani Moyenda demonstrate in the dialogue that is the backbone of "Taking It Personally," a look at how inbred attitudes toward blacks and minorities by "privileged whites" deeply penetrate — and often disable — classroom teaching and school administration on a daily basis.



Berlak, a Jewish college professor at San Francisco State University, invites Moyenda, an African-American elementary school teacher from Oakland, to share her views on teaching minority school children with a class of soon-to-be elementary school teachers. Asking student teachers to pose as children unable to buckle down and absorb the lesson of the day, Moyenda watches as the student "teacher" is doomed to fail. The scenario parallels those in minority classrooms every day, she contends. Culturally ill-equipped teachers, inadequate supplies and cumbersome administrative requirements — often stemming from a view of minority children as "less than" whites — conspire to render "helpless" those who teach low-achieving students of color.

A series of forthright journal entries from student teachers, the professor and guest speaker emerge out of the mock classroom experience to reveal the complex psychological terrain in which all our racial perspectives exist. It's a poignant lesson demonstrating that California's own ground zero is still in the classroom where children learn and develop their own self-images every day.

Compiled by California Journal Editors

By the numbers

Public assessment

42%: Percentage of Californians who approved of George W. Bush's performance as president in early September, prior to the September 11 terrorist attacks.

25%: Percentage of California Democrats approving of President Bush's presidency prior to September 11.

74%: Percentage of Californians holding President Bush in favorable regard following the September 11 attacks.

60%: Percentage of California Democrats giving President Bush high marks following the terrorist attacks.

60%: Percentage of Californians who positively approved of Governor Gray Davis in January, during the emergence of the energy crisis.

41%: Percentage of Californians favorably rating Governor Davis in September, several months after fallout from energy de-regulation.

Source: Field Polls, September 7 and September 20, 2001.

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History for our times:

Pearl Harbor and the birth of modern California

There are symbolic parallels in the attacks of December 7, 1941, and September 11, 2001, both for the nation and for California. There also are significant differences. As the nation enters a new age of international uncertainty, a look at the past may help guide the future.

By A.G. Block

December 7, 1941. September 11, 2001.

Two fateful days smashed into the calendar of American history. Two ferocious assaults against America committed with such treachery as to make the date a synonym for outrage.

Comparisons between Pearl Harbor and the attack of September 11 began soon after the twin towers of the World Trade Center collapsed into lower Manhattan. CBS News anchor Dan Rather, among others, referred to the terrorist assault as "another Pearl Harbor." Editorial cartoonist Michael Ramirez' September 14 offering in the *Los Angeles Times* blended the twin towers with the burning wreckage of the *USS Arizona* – one of the most famous images to emerge from World War II.

Although separated by 60 years, the two events are similar in that both were surprise attacks that outraged Americans and rekindled their

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patriotism. In each case, prominent symbols of American power and prestige were reduced to burning hulks by an enemy with long-simmering resentment of United States foreign and economic policies. Each attack provoked deep anger in the American people and a thirst for revenge while at the same time stripping away a long-held sense of security. Finally, both brought the United States into a war that had raged for years in other parts of the globe.

In each case, California suddenly found itself on the front lines. In 1941, the United States' principal military stronghold in the Pacific had been crippled, and many expected the Japanese to invade the West Coast within days. Today, the front is not a matter of geography but a state of mind. Terrorists do not fight for territory but to destabilize society, so even though initial attacks took place on the East Coast, the "front" is everywhere. Finally, now as then, California is home to a large number of residents who share ethnicity with those responsible for the attacks. In 1941, more than 94,000 people of Japanese ancestry were living here; in 2001, one million Muslims reside in California, 250,000 of whom trace their roots to the Middle East.

But while December 7 and September 11 produced similar emotions, there are deep differences in the impact of these two attacks on our country. As the nation prepares for a showdown with another remote and little-understood enemy, it is worth glancing backward to compare the situations then and now.

The impact of World War II

In her book "The Second Gold Rush," Marilynn S. Johnson describes Richmond, California, as "a small, pastoral community ... [with] abundant open space" where livestock grazed in open fields along the northern shore of San Francisco Bay. In 1940, it was a blue-collar town, home to 23,642 residents, homogenous white/Hispanic with no measurable numbers of Chinese or Japanese and only 270 blacks. Although visible across the Bay, San Francisco and Oakland — cities with heft and bustle — were remote both in mood and texture.

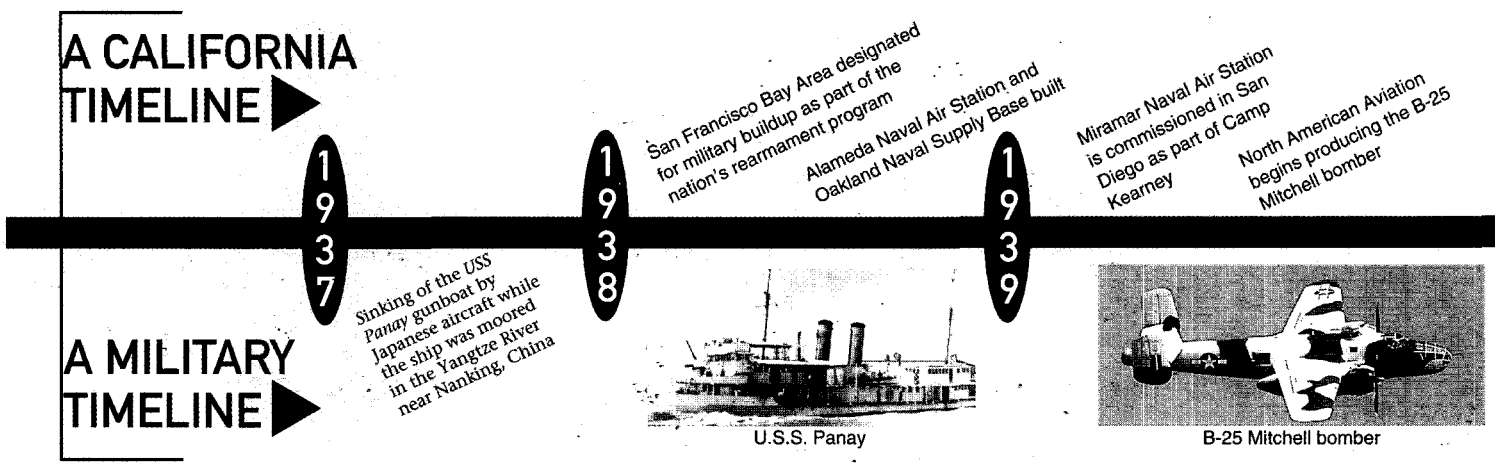
World War II changed Richmond forever. By 1944, more than 93,000 people were squashed into its overcrowded neighborhoods, an increase of 297 percent. The open fields had been seeded with wartime housing projects, and the black population had soared 2000 percent, to nearly 6,000 — a figure that would more than double by decade's end. Industrialist Henry Kaiser had built two huge shipyards astride the Bay, while a once-innocuous Ford assembly plant had grown into a monstrous complex that produced 60,000 tanks by war's end.

This transformation made Richmond a reflecting pool for the cultural and economic changes that swept California in the years following Pearl Harbor. A mostly white, semi-industrialized state struggling to emerge from the Great Depression, California became an ethnically diverse industrial dynamo dominated by sprawling metropolitan areas. According to the 1950 "California Blue Book," the state's population expanded from 6.9 million to 10.5 million (53 percent) between 1940 and 1950. Nearly three million migrants came from other parts of the country to work in factories and shipyards, joining legions of servicemen and women who passed through en route to the Pacific Theater and later returned again, motivated by memories of a temperate climate and relaxed lifestyle.

The state's urban areas absorbed virtually all the growth. In 1940, two in seven Californians were classified as living in rural areas; by 1950, the ratio had shrunk to two in 10. During the corresponding decade, the state's urban population mushroomed from 4.9 million to 8.5 million, or 74 percent. Los Angeles alone grew by a million people between 1940 and 1948 — an increase of 35 percent.

Jobs drew people to the cities, high-paying urban jobs that boosted statewide per-capita income more than threefold in the first half of the decade. The new prosperity was underscored by dramatic advances in two vital defense industries: aircraft production and shipbuilding. In 1940, 50,000 Californians earned nearly $80 million working in those plants and yards. By 1943, half a million people were employed there, pulling in more than $1.3 billion.

The ethnic character of California's population also changed. Before the war, the Golden State was 95 percent white (including Hispanics, who were classified as white). There were only isolated pockets of Asians and virtually no blacks. Black migration in particular accelerated during


A CALIFORNIA TIMELINE
A MILITARY TIMELINE
1937
1938
1939
Sinking of the USS Panay gunboat by Japanese aircraft while the ship was moored in the Yangtze River near Nanking, China
San Francisco Bay Area designated for military buildup as part of the nation's rearmament program
Alameda Naval Air Station and Oakland Naval Supply Base built
Miramar Naval Air Station is commissioned in San Diego as part of Camp Kearney
North American Aviation begins producing the B-25 Mitchell bomber
U.S.S. Panay
B-25 Mitchell bomber

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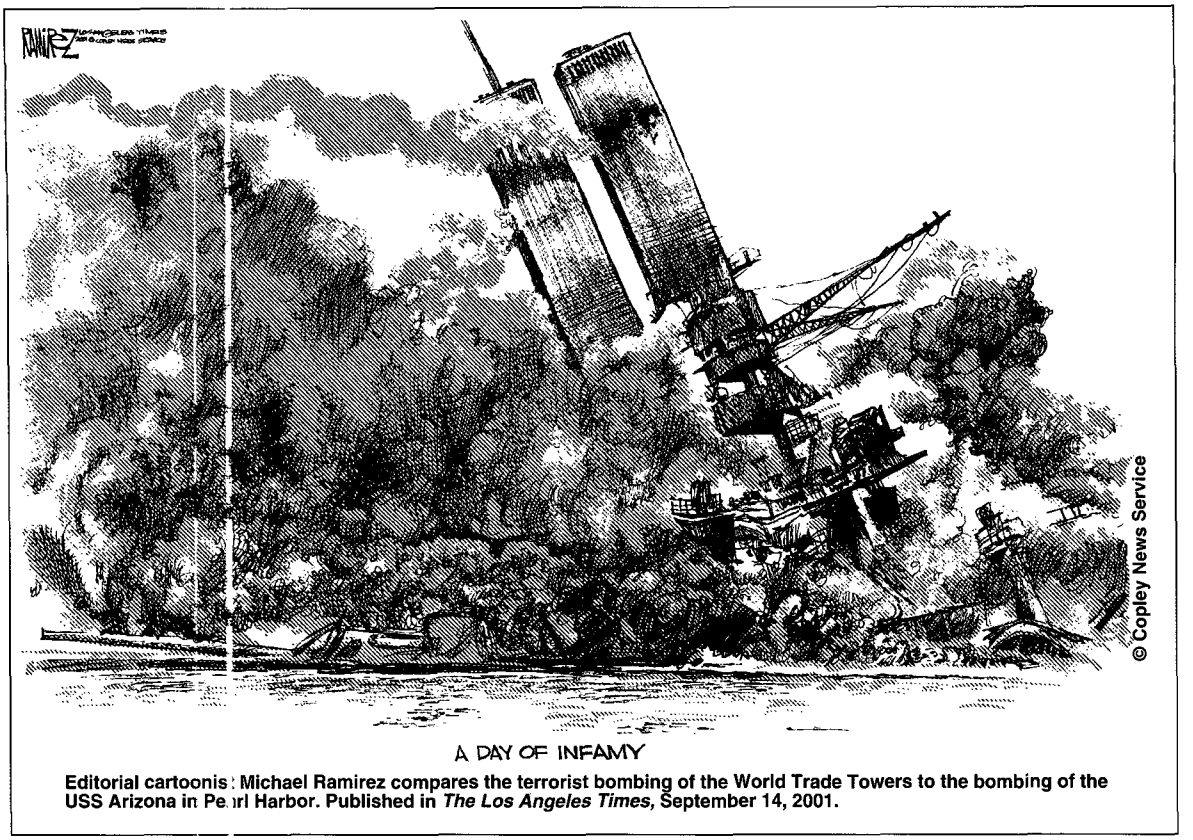


A DAY OF INFAMY

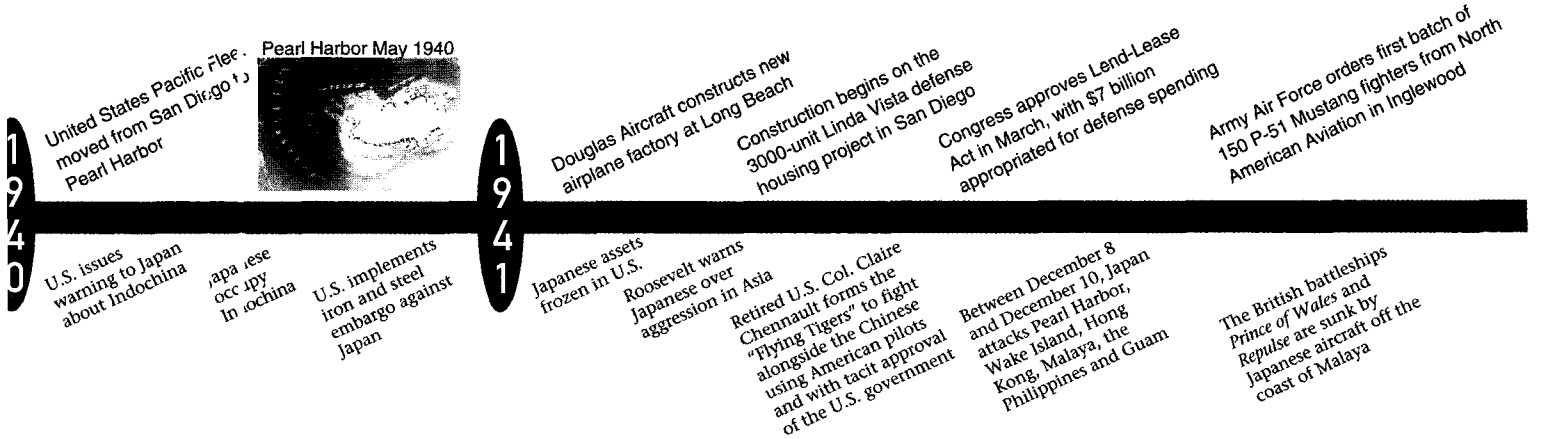
Editorial cartoonist Michael Ramirez compares the terrorist bombing of the World Trade Towers to the bombing of the USS Arizona in Pearl Harbor. Published in *The Los Angeles Times*, September 14, 2001.

the war. Although there had been some influx during the Depression, Census figures reveal that 124,000 blacks lived in California in 1940. A decade later, that number had swelled to 462,000. The war also reversed the trend of Mexican repatriation begun during the Depression when thousands of immigrants, some of them U.S. citizens, were forcibly repatriated to Mexico on the grounds that there was no work for them in the United States. One of the war's more lasting legacies was the jump-start it gave to a new wave of Mexican immigration that continues to this day.

California also became younger as migrants and returning servicemen married and started families. The number of children 14 years and younger, static between 1930 and 1940, more than doubled over the next 10 years. The population aged 25 to 44 grew by more than a million during the '40s.

This newer and younger population changed the politics of California. In the years before World War II, California's political leadership focused mainly on the state's native sons, for the most part ignoring the steady influx of Depression-era migrants. But after the war, California was home to so many newcomers that officials at every level were representing constituencies that had not existed when they were first elected. Suddenly, there were no outsiders because an ever-growing chunk of the electorate was itself from the outside. This opened the political system to a new breed of younger politician, and among those who profited from the change were Jesse Unruh and Phil Burton.

Economically, California not only prospered during World War II but also used $35 billion in defense spending to lay the foundation for an industrial and technology-based economy that remained recession-proof for nearly half a century. Aircraft manufacturers, for instance, had been associated with California since the 1910s when the Loughead brothers established a small factory in Burbank, later changing their company's name to "Lockheed." Over the next decade, they were joined by the likes of Donald


1940
1941
United States Pacific Fleet moved from San Diego to Pearl Harbor
Pearl Harbor May 1940
U.S. issues warning to Japan about Indochina
Japanese occupy Indochina
U.S. implements iron and steel embargo against Japan
Japanese assets frozen in U.S.
Roosevelt warns Japanese over aggression in Asia
Retired U.S. Col. Claire Chennault forms the "Flying Tigers" to fight alongside the Chinese using American pilots and with tacit approval of the U.S. government
Between December 8 and December 10, Japan attacks Pearl Harbor, Wake Island, Hong Kong, Malaya, the Philippines and Guam
The British battleships *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* are sunk by Japanese aircraft off the coast of Malaya
Douglas Aircraft constructs new airplane factory at Long Beach
Construction begins on the 3000-unit Linda Vista defense housing project in San Diego
Congress approves Lend-Lease Act in March, with $7 billion appropriated for defense spending
Army Air Force orders first batch of 150 P-51 Mustang fighters from North American Aviation in Inglewood

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Douglas, John Northrup and Claude Ryan, who built Charles Lindbergh's *Spirit of St. Louis* in a San Diego hangar. Clustered in Los Angeles, Santa Monica and San Diego, their companies operated on shoestrings until World War II when, buoyed by $21 billion in federal contracts, they created the vanguard of what would become one of the great engines of California's postwar boom: the aerospace industry.

Other industries experienced similar growth. California assembled fivefold more cars in 1948 than in 1941. The oil industry mushroomed to feed the state's growing fleet of private automobiles. A new steel industry prospered. Construction boomed for housing, factories, highways, universities, water projects, schools, office buildings, theaters, *ad infinitum*. The military moved in — and stayed. Cities expanded, sprawled out, merged. An embryonic industry based on technology began to stir in the triangular petrie dish formed by Stanford University, the University of California at Berkeley and Lawrence Livermore Laboratories.

The war also produced the "G.I. Bill," which historian Ed Cray credits with "creating the great middle class." "There were two aspects of it that were huge," Cray explains, "two benefit programs that never would have passed except as a thank-you to the G.I.s. First, an education clause which paid veterans to go to college and tech school, and a home-loan program which built the suburbs and fueled the construction industry."

Modern California was born in the flames and rubble of Pearl Harbor, brought to life by this "second gold rush." World War II finally wrenched the nation from the throes of economic depression, and California was ideally suited to take advantage of America's sudden prosperity. There was plenty of room for growth, and a collective appetite for it.

A different place

Twenty-first century California is a vastly different place. In addition to being the nation's most populous state — 33.9 million according to the 2000 Census — it is the nation's most ethnically diverse state. Nearly 100 languages are spoken in Los Angeles schools. There are more Vietnamese living in California now than there were blacks in 1950. Today 15.8 million whites, 10.9 million Hispanics, 2.2 million blacks and 3.7 million Asians call California home. Among Asians, six different groups have populations that exceed 250,000: Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese. There are more Samoans in California today than there were blacks in 1920.

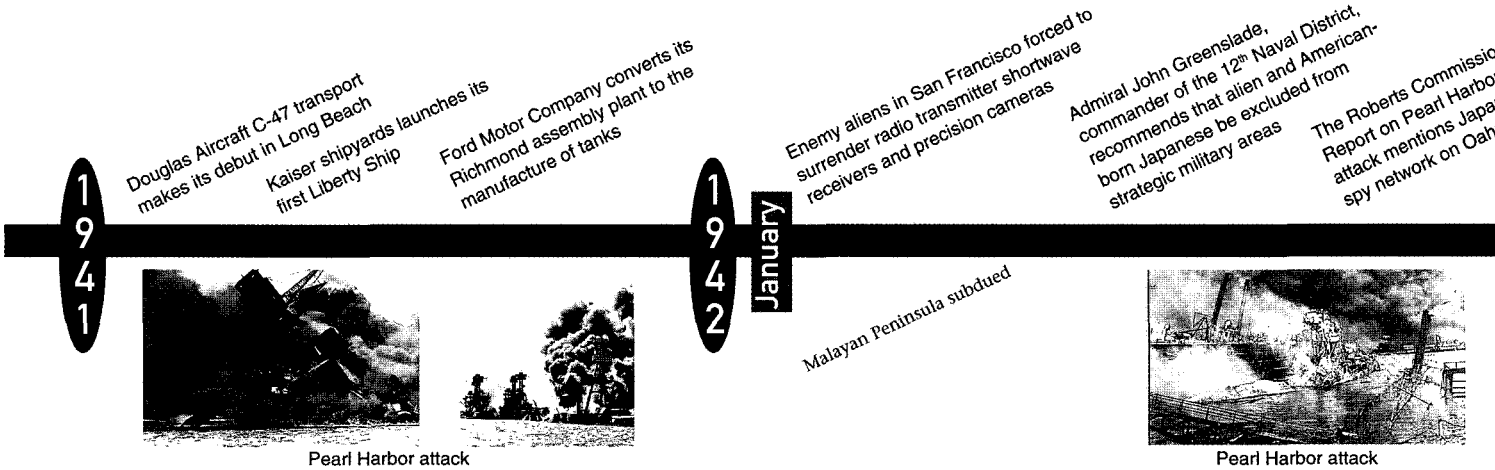
Rosie the Riverter posters boosted th prominence of women in the workforc

As a result, there is precious little room for the kind of growth experienced during World War II. Inner cities are crowded and suburbs sprawl into deserts and once-productive farmland. Schools burst with students, water systems are overtaxed, urban highways jammed day and night. Instead of coming out of depression, the economy — after a decade of unprecedented growth — is in decline, the word "recession" seeping into political dialogue even before September 11 crippled industries vital to California's health, such as travel and tourism. Unemployment had been rising steadily during 2001 as the technology industry — another vital cog in the state's economy — finally contracted after years of expansion, causing a ripple throughout the state's economy.

Unlike the 1940s, this new war does not bring with it the promise of economic salvation — quite the contrary. The state will not reap benefits from the kind of unbridled defense spending associated with World War II. There will be no round-the-clock shipyards launching armadas of Liberty ships, no aircraft factories spewing forth B-25 bombers and P-51 Mustang fighters, no assembly plants grinding out M-4 Sherman tanks and the ubiquitous Jeep. The military doesn't need all that material.

No, this war isn't about hardware.

This war is about people and their attitudes.


1941
Douglas Aircraft C-47 transport makes its debut in Long Beach
Kaiser shipyards launches its first Liberty Ship
Ford Motor Company converts its Richmond assembly plant to the manufacture of tanks
Pearl Harbor attack
1942
January
Enemy aliens in San Francisco forced to surrender radio transmitter shortwave receivers and precision cameras
Admiral John Greenslade, commander of the 12th Naval District, recommends that alien and American-born Japanese be excluded from strategic military areas
The Roberts Commissio Report on Pearl Harbo attack mentions Japa spy network on Oah
Malayan Peninsula subdued
Pearl Harbor attack

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Where were you?

On Sunday, December 7, 1941, U.S. Army Private Ed Guthman was stationed at Fort Ord, California. As he finished lunch in the mess hall, his sergeant entered, a .45-caliber pistol strapped to his waist. "There ain't gonna be any Christmas furloughs," Guthman recollects the sergeant saying. "The Japs just bombed Pearl Harbor."

That evening, Guthman's platoon was taken to the beach "where we defended Monterey Bay." Guthman eventually became an infantry officer and spent the war slogging through Italy. A Pulitzer Prize winning reporter, he served as press secretary to Attorney General Robert Kennedy from 1961 to 1965, then returned to journalism as editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Today, he teaches investigative journalism at the University of Southern California.

In 1941 Frank McCullough had recently left his job as a $15-a-week reporter for United Press in San Francisco, opting for more lucrative work in a gold mine near Winnemucca, Nevada. "I tried to enlist that day [December 7]," he recalls, "but it was Sunday and all the recruiting offices were closed." McCullough eventually joined the Marine Corps and spent the war island-hopping around the Pacific as a combat correspondent. After the war, he resumed his career as a reporter, becoming managing editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, Saigon bureau chief for *Time* magazine during the Vietnam War, Time-Life bureau chief in New York City and executive editor of McClatchy Newspapers. He is retired and living in Northern California.

Nao Takasugi was a junior at UCLA and heard the news while driving to his parents' home in Oxnard. "There was no question where my allegiance lay at the time," Takasugi says. "All my upbringing, my education was American." Nonetheless, Takasugi never returned to UCLA, choosing to remain with his Issei (first generation Japanese born) parents, who were resident aliens. In 1942, the Takasugi family was interned in Arizona. A year later, Nao was one of some 4,000 Nisei (U.S. born Japanese) "rescued" from the camps by Quakers who helped arrange slots for them at eastern universities. Takasugi went to Temple University in Pennsylvania, graduating in 1945. A businessman active in local politics, he served as mayor of Oxnard from 1982 to 1992, when he was elected to the first of three terms in the Assembly.

> "The president told us to exercise our most effective weapon by refusing to allow the terrorists to deconstruct our society."
> — Kevin Starr

Despite the discrimination he suffered, Takasugi's lot was put in perspective when he visited a sister in Arkansas in 1943. From Little Rock, he took a "podunk little train" where he encountered "colored only" seating for the first time. "I was ... pondering what to do," he says, "when the conductor approached. I asked where I should sit, and he told me to sit with the whites." It was still better to be Japanese than black — at least in Arkansas.

Warren Christopher was a 16-year-old senior at Hollywood High School in 1941 and a 10-cents-a-word stringer for the *Hollywood Citizen News*. Christopher remembers hearing of the Pearl Harbor attack upon returning from a hike in the Hollywood hills and afterwards being sent out on the street to report public reaction for his newspaper. One of his most stunning memories is that of a darkened

Lt. Gen. John DeWitt enlists California Governor Culbert Olsen's support for relocation of Japanese aliens

California congressional delegation urges relocation of enemy aliens

President Franklin Roosevelt approves the concept of removing Japanese aliens and citizens from key areas of the West Coast

Removal of Japanese aliens from military zones in Northern California begins

FDR signs Executive Order 9066 authorizing "military areas" for Japanese residents

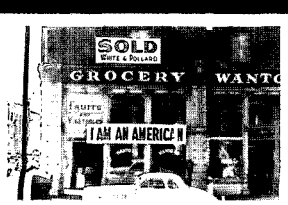
Bankline Refinery at Goleta near Santa Barbara shelled by Japanese submarine

All of Northern California declared "strategic military zone"

"The Battle of Los Angeles" occurs when anti-aircraft guns fire at a lost weather balloon

February

Surrender of Singapore



Forced sale of family store

Japanese-American relocation

U.S. soldier

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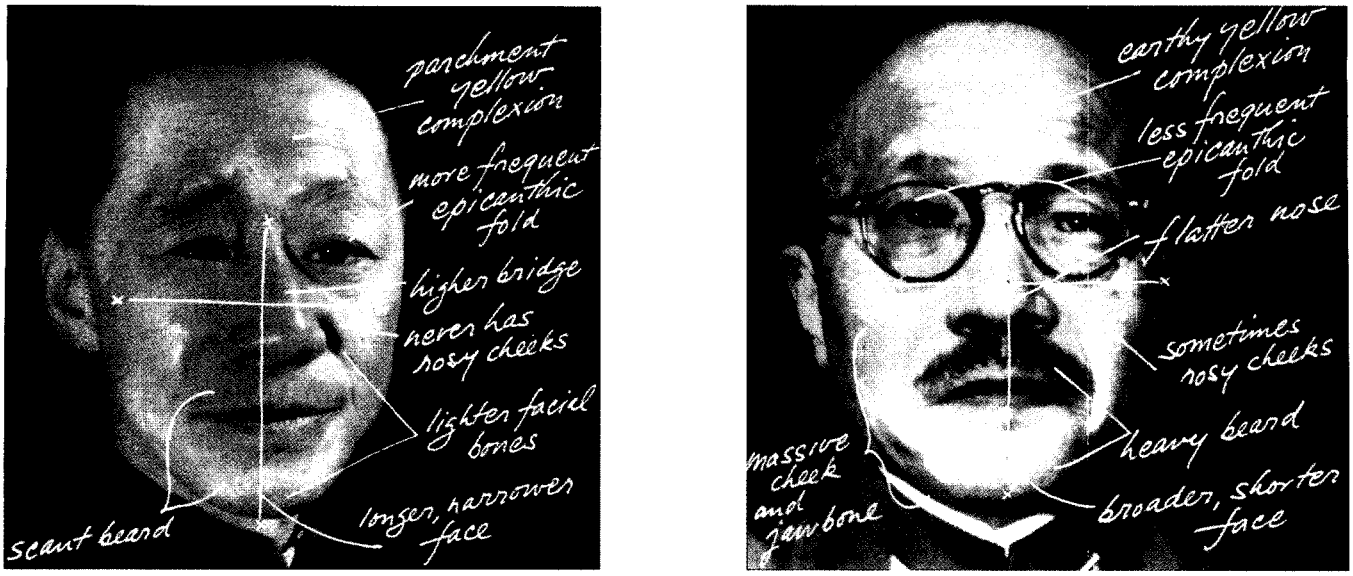


Racial profiling, World War II style. Published in *Life* magazine, December 22 1941, with the subhead reading "Angry citizens victimize allies." The article describes how to tell the difference between the Chinese and Japanese. The face on the left is of a Chinese civil servant, and on the right is the Japanese Pime Minister, General Hideki Tojo. Their various facial characteristics and body type are compared.

Los Angeles and of spontaneous public reaction to a violation of the blackout edict. "On Vine Street," he recalls, "a sign company had neglected to turn out the lights on a large billboard. People were standing in the streets, throwing rocks at the bulbs." A year later, when he turned 17, Christopher enlisted in the Navy. After the war, he studied law. He is best remembered for his roles as deputy secretary of state in the Carter administration, where he negotiated an end to the Iranian hostage crisis, and for his service as head of a commission that investigated the Los Angeles Police Department after the Rodney King beating in 1991. He also served as secretary of state under President Bill Clinton and remains active in legal and government affairs.

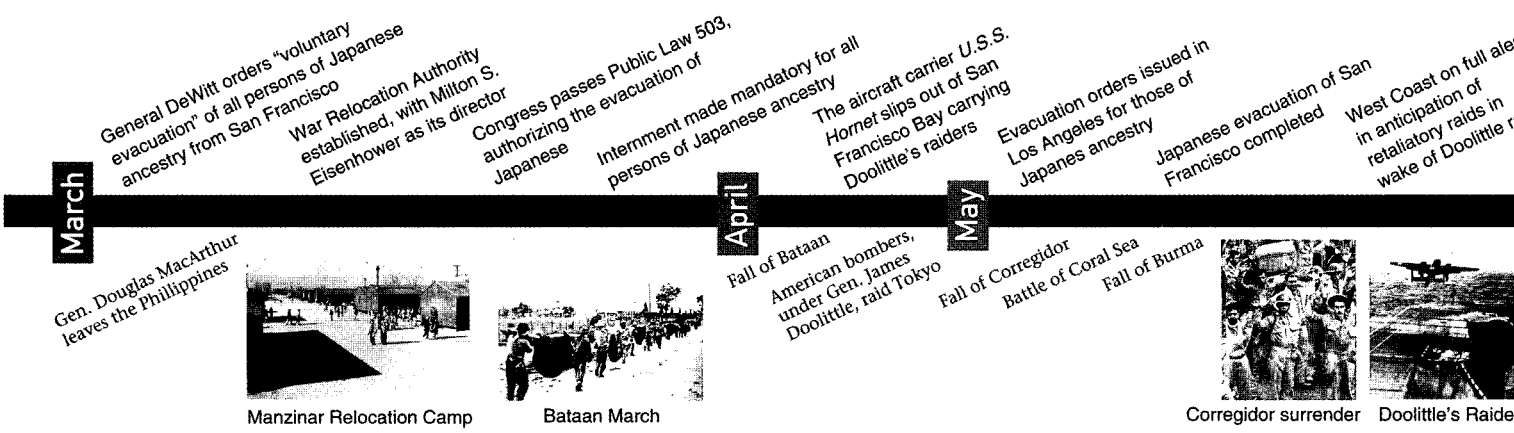
Not your grandfather's war

Guthman, McCullough, Takasugi and Christopher represent what has been often called "the greatest generation," and like most of their contemporaries, World War II consumed them for nearly half a decade. For many people, it proved the defining moment of their lives. And as with the September 11 attacks, a single event both propelled the country into war and unified it.

"Both were attacks on the American homeland," says Christopher. "Hawaii was very far away, but we knew it was ours. This was an attack on us, and we responded that way. We are doing so now. The number of flags I see when I run every morning is quite striking." It is even, Christopher and others point out, once again fashionable for liberals to display patriotism.

After September 11, Americans donated blood and money, displayed flags and lent emotional support to those immediately affected by the assault. But this is not our grandfather's war, and keeping the nation together and sustaining its resolve will be more challenging than in 1941.

Unlike 1941, there is no recognizable enemy nation today. Afghanistan was a sanctuary for those alleged to have committed the September 11 attacks, but Afghanistan itself did not perpetrate the outrage and does not serve as a focal point for American resolve as did Japan and Germany. Indeed, President George W. Bush made it a


March
April
May
General DeWitt orders "voluntary evacuation" of all persons of Japanese ancestry from San Francisco
War Relocation Authority established, with Milton S. Eisenhower as its director
Congress passes Public Law 503, authorizing the evacuation of Japanese
Internment made mandatory for all persons of Japanese ancestry
The aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Hornet* slips out of San Francisco Bay carrying Doolittle's raiders
Evacuation orders issued in Los Angeles for those of Japanes ancestry
Japanese evacuation of San Francisco completed
West Coast on full ale in anticipation of retaliatory raids in wake of Doolittle r
Gen. Douglas MacArthur leaves the Phillippines
Manzinar Relocation Camp
Bataan March
Fall of Bataan
American bombers, under Gen. James Doolittle, raid Tokyo
Fall of Corregidor
Battle of Coral Sea
Fall of Burma
Corregidor surrender
Doolittle's Raide

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point to announce that the United States would provide humanitarian aid to Afghanistan at the very moment the United States and Britain launched retaliatory strikes against its Taliban government on October 7.

The enemy today is ephemeral, a collection of global outlaws. They have no field army to confront, no imperial navy to seek out and destroy, no ports to mine, no government to hold responsible. In addition, although the nation has experienced a wave of patriotic fervor, there is no consensus among the American people over a proper response to a terrorist attack.

That wasn't the case after Pearl Harbor. The course of action was both traditional and plain to see: eliminate Japan's ability to wage war.

"There was no doubt about a proper response," says McCullough of 1941. "Another nation had attacked us, and we envisioned 700 battleships sailing west ... to blow those bastards out of the Pacific."

Who is it we attack today, and how?

"Responding in 1941 was easy," explains veteran political consultant Stu Spencer, a San Gabriel teenager at the time of Pearl Harbor. "There was a nation [Japan] where everyone talked and looked alike and came from one place. There is a difference today, and we first need to define the enemy. This is an aggressor who comes from many countries."

Spencer says the nation and its leadership must ask deeper questions of itself before deciding who, what and how to respond. Recent retaliatory attacks notwithstanding, bombing isn't the whole answer. "The greater society has to define what a terrorist is," says Spencer. "We have to honestly ask why people hate us to the point they become terrorists, then attack the root causes of terrorism" at the same time we hunt down Osama bin Laden and the cadre of militants responsible for September 11.

Maintaining resolve

Because the conduct of war will be less straightforward than in World War II, maintaining American resolve will be more difficult. The response of Californians, especially, will be worth noting because the Golden State is so far removed physically from the initial attacks. Polls already show the farther one lives from the scene of the attacks, the more optimistic one is that a quick return to normal life is possible.

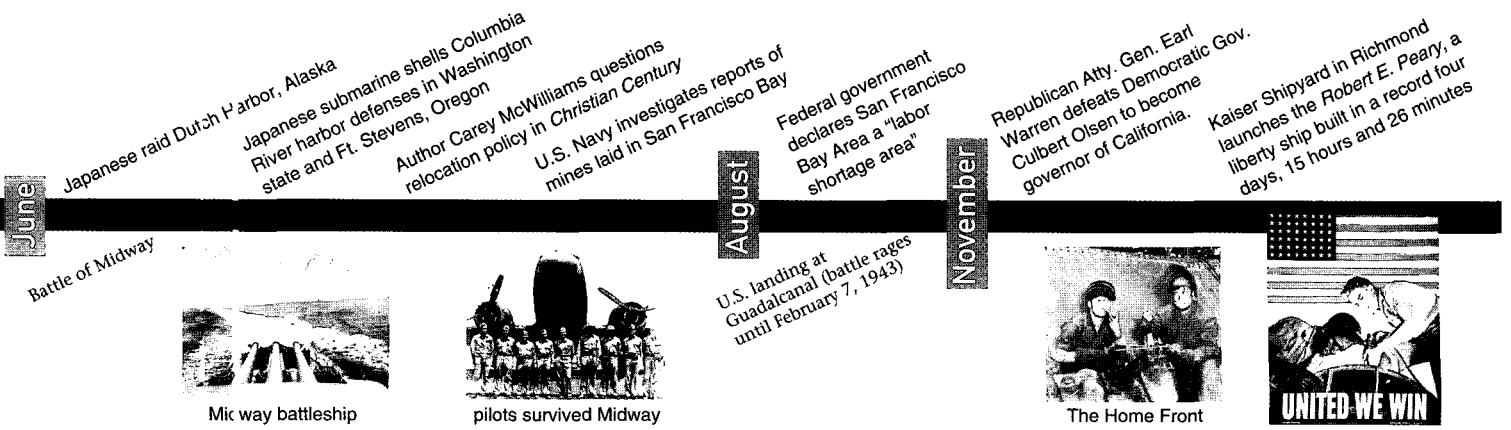
The attitudes that evolved in the days after September 11 were much like those which grew from the smoke and ashes of Pearl Harbor. But the Pearl Harbor resolve remained throughout World War II.

"The war effort was like nothing I'd seen," recalls Joe Cerrell, a political consultant who was six at the time of Pearl Harbor and remembers his father — a New York City fireman — being called into work on a Sunday. "We saved pennies to buy stamps and war bonds, saved foil and tin cans. We couldn't visit relatives because gas was rationed. There were long lines at recruiting stations and at the draft board."

Cerrell, who serves as president of the national Italian-American Foundation, sees the same level of commitment today. "[The foundation] has raised $3 million in donations for victims," he says. "That's astounding. We have a $5 million annual budget, and we usually have to struggle and work hard to reach it. This time, $3 million, overnight."

But some worry that keeping a fire under that commitment will not be as easy as in the years following Pearl Harbor. Back then, people felt personally connected to the war even though news was slow to arrive and the battlefields remote. Every family was touched in some significant way. Uncle Ralph was a Marine "somewhere in the Pacific," cousin Sid was a turret gunner on a B-17 in England, Aunt Lil was "Rosie the Riveter" assembling howitzers in an ordinance plant, grandpa played piano at the local USO. The war bound people together with common resolve toward a common goal — victory.

Today, thanks to CNN and other instant news outlets, the American people have much more information about their war than people did during the 1940s, when they had to rely on heavily censored radio and newspaper reports. But aside from donating blood or money, or wearing a flag, Americans do not have the same sense of what each individual can or must do to aid the current effort. "You can't roll bandages now," says Christopher, referring to work performed by Red Cross volunteers during World War


June
Japanese raid Dutch Harbor, Alaska
Japanese submarine shells Columbia River harbor defenses in Washington state and Ft. Stevens, Oregon
Author Carey McWilliams questions relocation policy in Christian Century
U.S. Navy investigates reports of mines laid in San Francisco Bay
August
Federal government declares San Francisco Bay Area a "labor shortage area"
November
Republican Atty. Gen. Earl Warren defeats Democratic Gov. Culbert Olsen to become governor of California.
Kaiser Shipyard in Richmond launches the Robert E. Peary, a liberty ship built in a record four days, 15 hours and 26 minutes
Battle of Midway
U.S. landing at Guadalcanal (battle rages until February 7, 1943)
UNITED WE WIN
Midway battleship

pilots survived Midway

The Home Front

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II. As an alternative, he suggests that Californians reach out to those in need in their own towns and cities.

Media sophistication and speed could work against the effort, even as it brings this new war home to the American people in ways never dreamed of — or allowed — half a century ago. "The news is out within seconds, all over the country," says Stu Spencer. "The visual, the picture is out. Experts are on the air talking about it. People are deluged with information, and this is bad. We need information, but there is a limit."

Spencer worries that, in the absence of renewed or continued attacks, the American people will "tune out and turn off" and not think about it — and thus become disconnected. McCullough, too, is concerned that media omnipresence could cramp the Bush administration and deny it room for maneuver. "If we insist on examining every wart and pimple," he warns, "you create an environment where you may not be able to have real leadership."

In terms of uplifting experiences or rallying points, "We're not going to have any great victories in this war," adds McCullough. "There is not going to be a Midway, or a Tarawa" to fire the imagination. "If you do win one in the shadows, you're likely never to know about it."

Resolve during World War II hardened precisely because the war brought so many daily reminders into every home, and most every citizen had some role to play in the effort. But today, there will be no mass mobilization. There probably won't be a military draft. Industry will not be called upon to ratchet up another "arsenal of democracy." There will be little or no rationing of vital material; perhaps not even a single war bond will be sold. Once the World Trade Center is cleaned up and the nation tries to return to normal, there could be an overriding feeling of disconnection — especially in California, which lies a continent away from the September 11 attacks.

Some believe, however, that "normalcy" is the one

After Pearl Harbor:

The politics of patriotism

By Lou Cannon

Culbert Olson being sworn into the office of governor by state Supreme Court Justice, Emmett Seawell. Photos in this article are courtesy of The Bancroft Library.

In the hazy glow of patriotic memory, Americans from all walks of life put aside political differences, responded to calls for sacrifice, and united in a common cause after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

The shock waves of this "day of infamy," which killed or wounded more than 4,200 Americans and destroyed much of the U.S. battleship fleet, reverberated with particular force in California, where a Japanese assault on the mainland was feared. Many suspected that such an attack would be abetted by resident Japanese and Japanese-Americans, who were forcibly evacuated to relocation camps for the duration of the war.

This popular mythology contains slivers of truth but conceals more than it reveals. While Americans certainly felt an enormous surge of patriotism after Pearl Harbor, the relocation of the Japanese was neither spontaneous nor immediate and was in considerable measure organized by those who stood to gain from it or by biased newspaper columnists who promoted the notion that Japanese Ameri-

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thing that ordinary citizens can do to help defeat terrorism.

"The goal of terrorists is to take our normal life away," says state Librarian Kevin Starr, an historian and author of a series of books on California. "The president told us to exercise our most effective weapon by refusing to allow the terrorists to deconstruct our society. Get back on airplanes. Invest in the market. Visit Disneyland. This is the best counter-offensive."

For his part, Starr doesn't believe that American resolve will fade. "Those two planes killed a lot of people," he argues, referring to the two commercial aircraft flown into the World Trade Center by suicide terrorists.

Warren Christopher agrees. "Those pictures [of planes hitting the World Trade Center] were very graphic," he says. "I think the resolve could last a very long time."

Darkest moment

During World War II, California was the scene of one of the United States' darkest moments — the arrest and internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans (see story below). The roots of this episode go deep into California history, to a time when the Japanese and other aliens were the targets of exclusionary laws designed to prevent them from owning land or property. During the war, Japanese were demonized, much more so than Germans and Italians. As author John Dower points out in his study of the Pacific campaign, "War Without Mercy," the Japanese were continually portrayed as cruel and subhuman in films, cartoons and propaganda posters. There was, Dower says, no Japanese version of "the good German" with any redeeming qualities to his character. Because of this distortion, there was no counterbalance to help shape American attitudes toward anyone with Japanese ancestry. Loathing of the Japanese — as a race rather than as an enemy government — was a fairly universal attitude.

"I'm ashamed to admit it," Frank McCullough con-

Earl Warren's campaign photo for attorney general of California

cans were untrustworthy.

Nor was there political unity in California. Although isolationist U.S. senators such as Hiram Johnson muted their criticism of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and voted for a declaration of war — much as Democrats have now united behind President George W. Bush's "war on terrorism" — the state's two leading politicians feuded publicly in the months after Pearl Harbor. These politicians, Governor Culbert Olson and Attorney General Earl Warren, were principled men, but much of their bickering in this hour of the nation's need was petty and egotistical.

Olson, elected in 1938, was California's first Democratic governor of the 20th century. He had been a state senator in his native Utah and again in California, representing Los Angeles. Olson was an ardent and at times doctrinaire liberal who offered a highly specific program to improve the living standards and health care of Californians. As governor, he was hampered by political mishaps, unfortunate appointments and a recalcitrant Legislature. In the view of sympathetic historian Robert E. Burke, Olson had the misfortune to become governor when the New Deal nationally was in retreat.

General John De Witt, as head of the Western Defense Command, influenced Governor Olson to evacuate Japanese Americans from California

Earl Warren, a Republican, was California's most popular politician in 1941, as he would be for years to come. In an era of cross-filing, he had been elected attorney general in the 1938 primary by winning the nomination of the Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties. Despite his popularity, Warren was not then the liberal icon or conservative *bete noire* he became in his three terms as California governor and even more as the trail-blazing chief justice of the United States. As district attorney of Alameda County, he had prosecuted union activists in a high-visibility shipboard murder case, and he was distrusted by significant elements of organized labor.

The bad blood between Olson and Warren dated to the celebrated case of Tom Mooney, a labor agitator who had been convicted with associate Warren Billings for causing an explosion in San Francisco that killed 10 persons during a Preparedness Day parade on July 22, 1916. After

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fesses today, "but I thought [internment] was the right thing to do, and my feelings were pretty much in tune with everyone else. And I didn't differentiate between Japanese and Japanese Americans. The media never expressed any doubts over the wisdom of the move, and neither did I."

Like McCullough, many non-Japanese who lived through the war years remain haunted by the episode, and few believe a similar fate could befall Arab Americans.

"I believe we learned a lesson," says Ed Cray, a biographer of Earl Warren, who was California attorney general at the time of Pearl Harbor. "You've seen the president and attorney general continually come to the defense of Arab Americans and Muslims. [Something then-President Franklin Roosevelt never did on behalf of Japanese Americans.] We learned the lesson of the evacuations. We learned that you don't demonize a whole people because of the actions of a few."

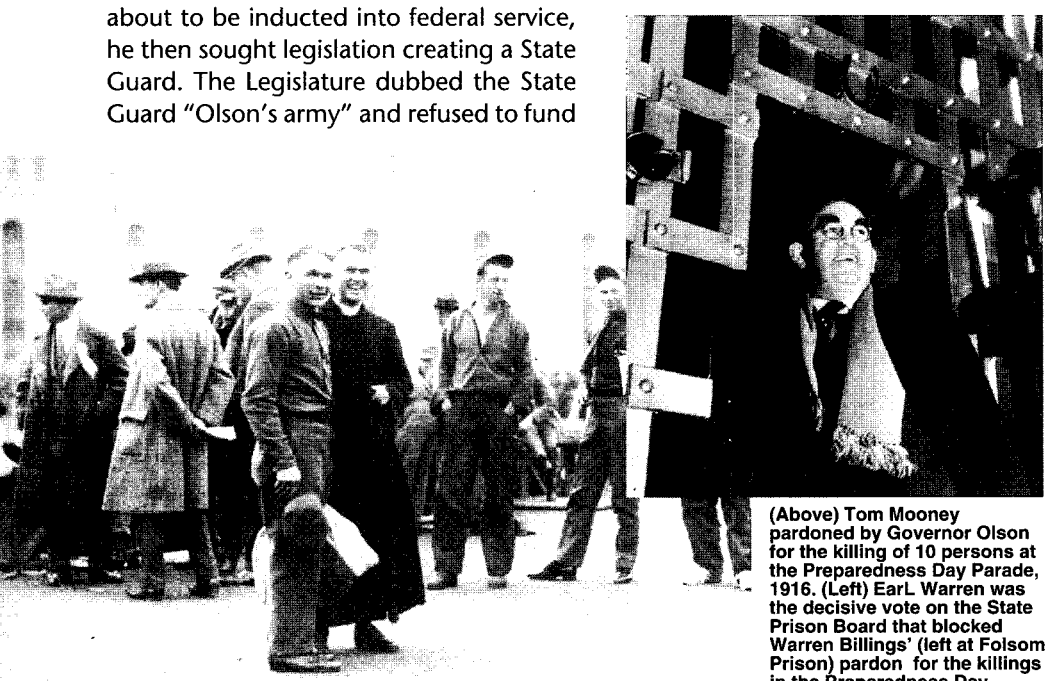
Still, Kevin Starr expresses concern that the nation must be vigilant if it is to prevent another wholesale abandonment of the Bill of Rights. "When we've done the investigations," he warns, "and the [terrorist] support network comes to light, we will have to face the temptation to want to demonize."

But Starr is optimistic that it won't happen in California. "We are an ecumenical society in California today," he says. "In 1941, we were a white society. Today, you don't know what a Californian looks like, because we look like the world. We're a different people today, even though we're still Americans, still Californians. We've evolved, and it would be hard to demonize any

a federal investigation raised doubts about the evidence, Mooney's death sentence was commuted to life in prison, and he became a touchstone labor cause. Olson labeled Mooney's conviction a "frame-up" and, in his first and most noteworthy act as governor, gave him a full pardon.

Because Billings had been convicted of a previous felony, Olson could not pardon him without the recommendation of a majority of the state Supreme Court. He referred the case to the State Advisory Prison Board, which recommended 3-2 against a pardon, with Warren casting the decisive vote. Olson then wrote to the justices of the Court, who commuted Billings' life sentence to time served. From then on, Olson and Warren were barely on speaking terms.

In 1940, as Nazi armies overran Europe, Olson appointed a state council of defense and named himself chairman. Because the National Guard was about to be inducted into federal service, he then sought legislation creating a State Guard. The Legislature dubbed the State Guard "Olson's army" and refused to fund it. Olson finally obtained limited funding after the usually hostile Hearst press backed him and denounced the legislators as unpatriotic.



(Above) Tom Mooney pardoned by Governor Olson for the killing of 10 persons at the Preparedness Day Parade, 1916. (Left) EarL Warren was the decisive vote on the State Prison Board that blocked Warren Billings' (left at Folsom Prison) pardon for the killings in the Preparedness Day Parade.

Warren was also active in 1940. He won legislative passage of laws providing stricter safeguards against sabotage and allowing fire departments to cross county lines. Although the latter practice was commonplace in many states, the suspicious Olson formed the eccentric opinion that such authority was aimed at creating a Warren political machine.

On December 14, 1941, Olson proclaimed a state of emergency and omitted any mention of the role of the attorney general. He was challenged by Warren, who suggested that Olson intended to use the State Guard to supplant local authority. The Legislature limited Olson's right to invoke emergency powers, and the governor responded by slashing the Legislature's contingency appropriation bill. These unedifying power struggles continued throughout 1942 as California geared for the war effort.

Neither Warren nor Olson resisted the relocation of 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast, of whom nearly 94,000 lived in California. These included 33,569 persons born in Japan (Issei) and 60,148 persons born in the United States of Japanese extraction (Nisei.) As historian Bradford Smith put it in a 1948 book, *Americans From Japan*:

"For two months after December 7, 1941, the people of the West Coast, facing as they thought an attack from the sea showed less prejudice toward the local Japanese than at any time in their

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group in this country."

And now, what?

On December 8, 1941, no one knew how America's involvement in a Pacific war would turn out, but few could have envisioned how profoundly Pearl Harbor and its aftermath would change California. But change it did. The assets and liabilities of modern California, its freedom and impermanence, its sense of limitless possibilities and its disconnections, were acutely heightened in the years after Pearl Harbor.

As in December 1941, we cannot know how this new war will turn out, or how California — and the nation — will change as a result of it. But there likely will be change. In this new kind of conflict against terrorism, where the "front line" is everywhere, California cannot help be a trench on that line. The attendant tensions and uncertainty affect how we live and how we regard our place in the world. Moreover, a protracted conflict could have a profound and negative impact on American and global economies.

Kevin Starr suggests that Pearl Harbor "announced to us that we were an Asian-American nation; September 11 announced that we live in a global environment."

In 1941, we turned our face to Asia.

In 2001, for better or worse, we turn our face to the world.

A.G. Block is executive editor of California Journal. *Comments on this article may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

history. While all the adjectives of melodrama were being applied to the enemy, people went out of their way to assure the Nisei that they were not included or identified with the enemy. Many Nisei noted the fact with gratitude at the time."

Public opinion was changed by the race-baiting Joint Immigration Committee, headed by *Sacramento Bee* publisher V.S. McClatchy and backed by farm, labor and patriotic organizations. Despite a number of near-hysterical columns that supported the effort to oust the Japanese, Burke notes that there were many voices of dissent. When the Legislature passed a resolution calling upon the removal of "disloyal persons" (which meant Japanese) from state jobs, only 22 of the 63 Assembly members who voted on this proposal opposed it.

Olson believed that most Japanese living in California were loyal. As late as February 2, 1942, he said in a radio address that "mass evacuation would not be necessary," then two days later reversed himself because of the recommendation of Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command. DeWitt, too, had changed his opinion, after earlier stating in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor that evacuation would be "damned nonsense."

Warren helped orchestrate the evacuation even though, according to his biographer Ed Cray, he had "secret doubts" about it. The attorney general may have been influenced by a meeting with Walter Lippmann, then the nation's leading columnist and a proponent of the view that Japanese Americans were potential saboteurs. "Nobody's constitutional rights include the right to reside and do business on a battlefield," Lippmann wrote.

Many historians, notably James MacGregor Burns, blame Roosevelt, who also held anti-Japanese attitudes. Roosevelt refused to support U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle, who opposed the relocation as unnecessary and morally wrong. "Only a strong civil-libertarian President could have faced down all these forces [favoring relocation] and Roosevelt was not a strong civil libertarian," Burns wrote.

However one distributes the blame, it is clear in hindsight that the relocations, more than three months after Pearl Harbor, could have been prevented had Roosevelt, Olson or Warren exercised strong public leadership.

Earl Warren on the campaign trail for Governor 194

The democratic process, however, was not undone by the war. Olson and Warren waged a spirited campaign for governor in 1942, a year when Republicans made gains across the land. Warren ran under the banner of, "Leadership, Not Politics," and Olson did not help himself when he unwisely suggested this was Hitler's slogan. Warren won easily, with 57 percent of the vote to 41 for Olson.

The campaign made Warren a national figure and also served the useful purpose of demonstrating that the political system was alive and well in California. The war abroad had not silenced democracy at home.

Lou Cannon is author of seven books, including "Reagan: Role of a Lifetime" and "Official Negligence." His most recent book, "Reagan: The Presidential Portfolio," is part of a series on presidential libraries and will be published by PublicAffairs in November 2001. Comments on this article may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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Herb Wesson

For the Assembly's "speaker-in-waiting," grabbing the brass ring was the easy part. Now comes the hard part: leading an often-fractious house through an era of lean budgets and shrinking power.

By Alex Gronke

The joke among Republicans is that when Herb Wesson (D-Culver City) takes over as speaker of the Assembly next February, his first words when the gavel comes down will be, "Members, place your bets."

True, Wesson chaired the Assembly Governmental Organization Committee, which oversees — among other things — gambling. But the image of the Los Angeles Democrat as a casino host likely flows from his reputation as the consummate people person in a room full of 79 other glad-handers. Wesson himself says he is not a gambling man, and, in fact, he took no chances when it came to sewing up the speakership, a spot he had been gunning for since winning the 47th Assembly District seat in 1998.

Chairing the GO committee allowed Wesson to craft two facets of his legislative reputation. First, he deftly balanced the cravings of competing interests such as racetracks, card rooms and Indian-owned casinos. Second, and most important, he took full advantage of his position as head of one of the Legislature's premier juice committees. GO oversees the activities of several well-heeled and generous special interests — such as gambling and alcohol — allowing Wesson to display another talent essential to the speakership: fund raising.

Wesson will be the eighth Assembly speaker since voters enacted term limits in 1990, a law that virtually assures new leadership every two years. Wesson's ascension also reinforces the notion that friend-making rather than policy-making is the best path to popularity and power. And the best avenue to popularity — especially in a building where everyone is a pal but few are friends — is to dispense money. Wesson raised money, and he shared his haul with fellow Democrats. Altogether, he has pulled in over $2 million during his less than three years in the Assembly.

As for policy-making, most Capitol observers haven't a clue about Wesson's priorities, or what he hopes to accomplish as speaker. Aside from legislation honoring Mississippian Rosa Parks, Wesson's legislative plate is relatively bare and offers few clues. Wesson himself is characteristically vague on the subject, saying only, "I don't want to

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Herb Wesson with Speaker Robert Hertzberg

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Wesson with Al Gore and state Senator Kevin Murray

Wesson speaking on the Assembly floor.

have any preconceived notions when I go in there."

That is the polished way to say, "Beats me."

A salesman

Good politicians tend to be instinctive salespeople, hawking one piece of merchandise—themselves. Wesson, however, did it for real before getting into politics, selling cookware door-to-door. One can still imagine Wesson, a short and sturdy 50-year-old African American with a calm and thoughtful presence, selling pots and pans by the truckload. A natural at the trade, he is alert without being edgy, considerate without being unctuous.

Those qualities helped convince the current speaker, Bob Hertzberg (D-Van Nuys), to anoint Wesson as his successor during a Democratic caucus last spring.

The only other contender, Assemblyman Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento), is known as a policy guru with a solid legislative record. He was also a key player in the Assembly's shining moment last session — the investigation into corruption at the Department of Insurance. But Steinberg is not a money guy; he raises little in the way of campaign cash. And though briefly flirting with the notion of becoming speaker, he threw his support to Wesson after a sit-down with Wesson and Hertzberg. Insiders say Steinberg now has the inside track to head the Appropriations Committee after termed-out Assemblywoman Carole Migden (D-San Francisco) vacates that chairmanship, most likely in her anticipation of a run for state Board of Equalization.

"He worked it hard," Steinberg said of Wesson. "He was talking to members early and effectively."

Hertzberg said he expects Wesson to be elected speaker by a unanimous voice vote soon after the Legislature starts its new year in January. He will then wait a month before occupying the speaker's spacious suite of offices on the second floor of the restored Capitol. Both Wesson and Hertzberg say that they conceived this smooth and early transition as a template for future members to follow in an era of term limits. Hertzberg said he wants Wesson to have plenty of time to learn the ropes. With a solid 50-to-30 majority and scant discord in the ranks, Assembly Democrats can fairly well orchestrate the pace to suit themselves.

An altered landscape

As speaker, Hertzberg received middling marks from longtime Capitol watchers for his leadership, with his most significant contribution the institutionalization of training programs for new legislators (see "Southern Exposure, page 25). Hertzberg also had the benefit of serving at a time when the state was awash in money and his party ruled every inch of the Capitol, including the governor's office.

Wesson, however, could face an entirely different state of affairs.

First, the state will likely face a budgetary hole in the billions, a looming recession and the possibility of a Republican governor following next year's election. He also will lead a caucus and a house filled with lawmakers accustomed to prosperity, budget surpluses and few tough choices.

"We've had the luxury of not having to make substantial cuts," said Assemblyman Rod Wright (D-Los Angeles).

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Governor Davis, Herb Wesson, Los Angeles County Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke and Assemblymember Carl Washington at the Martin Luther King, Jr. parade

"[Budget] cuts is where the rubber meets the road."

Can Wesson meet the challenges of an altered political landscape?

One of Wesson's early political mentors, Los Angeles County Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, said Wesson already experienced a lesson in surviving revenue shortfalls and bracing constituents for sharp budget cuts when he was her chief of staff during the early 1990s recession. His stint in Burke's office also came during the riots that followed the acquittal of police officers involved in the Rodney King beating.

"We had to start from scratch under difficult times," said Burke.

Wesson compares his time with Burke to earning a masters degree in politics. He said Burke taught him to put his ego aside when dealing with the "Type A" personalities.

One often-cranky "Type A" currently serves as President pro Tempore of the Senate, John Burton (D-San Francisco) -- the state's most powerful legislator, a leader who has been deep into legislative politics for 35 years and one who sometimes rode roughshod over Hertzberg. "The more John Burton yells, the quieter I'm going to get," said Wesson.

The strategy has worked so far. Wesson has made few enemies in Sacramento while becoming known as a bridge builder. He has a much-touted friendship with conservative Assemblyman Tony Strickland (R-Ventura), and Assembly GOP leaders praise Wesson for an even-handed approach to partisan politics.

"If I were in the Democratic caucus, he would be my first pick for speaker," said Assemblyman Tom Harman (R-Huntington Beach), who served with Wesson on Assembly GO.

Even lobbyists who opposed gambling and alcohol measures that Wesson supported give him high marks for listening. "I found him to be very friendly, and to listen, and to understand the concerns of citizens," said Cheryl Schmit, director of Stand up for California, a gambling industry watchdog group.

As for his style, Wesson believes his speakership will differ from Hertzberg's in one critical aspect. "I hope to delegate more responsibility," said Wesson, a reference to Hertzberg's penchant for micro-managing the Assembly.

Money raising

One thing that gold plates Wesson's prestige is money.

"Herb's got that Gray Davis thing going on," said Joey Hill, chief of staff to state Senator Kevin Murray (D-Los Angeles) and Wesson's opponent in the 1998 Democratic primary in 1998.

Wesson doesn't raise money at the breathtaking pace set by Davis, but he does well for himself. When he first arrived in Sacramento, Wesson broke fund-raising barriers by becoming the first freshman to host a $5,000-a-plate dinner. In his nearly three years in the Assembly, he has raised a little over $2 million. Being top dog on a juice committee helped; in 2000 alone, he received $117,000 from racetracks and card clubs, $43,000 from Indian tribes with casinos, and $81,000 from alcohol interests. During that same period, an election year, he gave away nearly $900,000 to Democrats up and down the state.

"Governmental Organization" is an innocuous name for a body that deals with nearly everything that ever vexed a puritan: gambling, tobacco and alcohol. These are

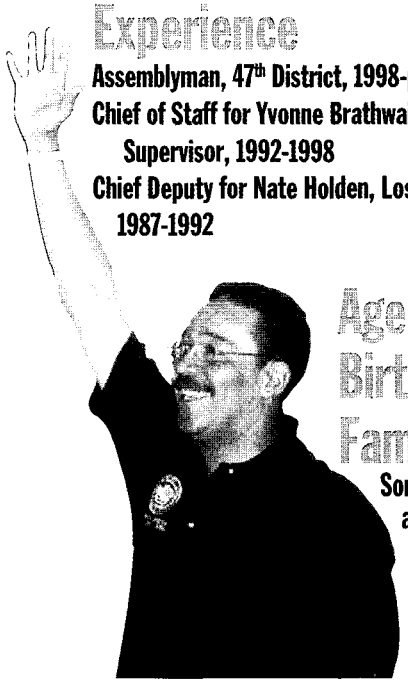
Herb Wesson

Education

B.A. Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, 1999

Experience

Assemblyman, 47th District, 1998-present
Chief of Staff for Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, Los Angeles County Supervisor, 1992-1998
Chief Deputy for Nate Holden, Los Angeles City Council, 1987-1992



Age 50
Birthplace Cleveland, Ohio
Family Wife: Fabian
Sons: Douglas, P. J., Herb III, and Justin
Home Culver City

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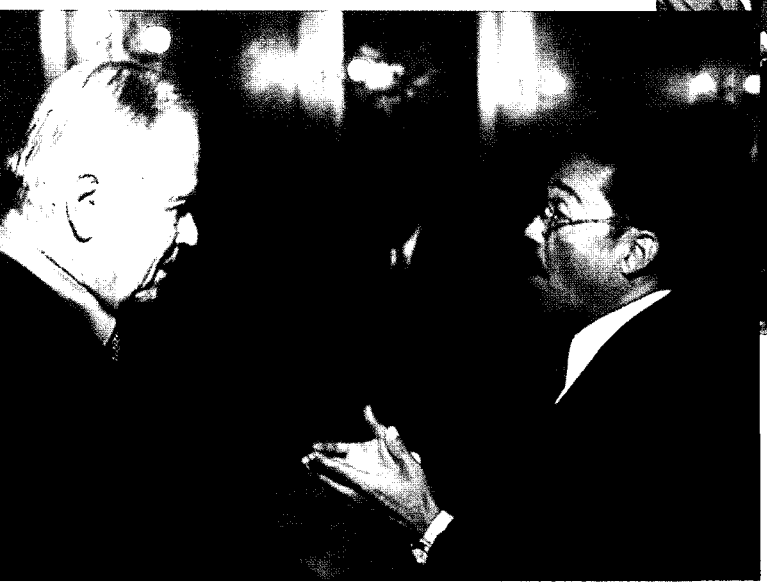
jittery but well-heeled industries that traditionally lavish contributions to ensure that their view is heard. The alcohol industry has long feared that a version of what happened to big tobacco will happen to them. And dueling gambling interests, Indian casinos versus race tracks and card clubs, also have issues they want settled. Racetracks and card clubs have long considered themselves at a disadvantage when competing with tribes, which are not regulated by the state due to their sovereign status. (See *CJ*, September 2001) Democrat Valerie Brown, Wesson's predecessor as GO chair, said that Wesson tends to balance those competing interests. According to some Capitol insiders, Wesson asked to head GO as part of a focused plan to win the speakership, knowing that the chairmanship provided a font of campaign cash.



Wesson and Richard Riordan, former Los Angeles mayor and possible Republican candidate for governor.

Wesson shaking hands with Governor Davis at the signing of the Parks, Water and Coastal Protection Act.

Born in Ohio

Wesson was born 50 years ago to working-class parents in Cleveland. His family moved to Montclair, New Jersey, for his final year of high school. Wesson was attending Lincoln State University, a black school in Pennsylvania, when he decided on politics as a career. His Former United States Representative Ron Dellums (D-Berkeley), who spoke on the campus one day, served as his inspiration.

Wesson left Lincoln State without a degree after his father died — a gap he filled in 1999 by attaining a bachelor of arts through correspondence classes from Lincoln.

In the late 1970s, Wesson moved to Los Angeles, where he got off the plane in a checked suit and platform shoes, looking like he "just got off the turtle truck," he says. In addition to selling pots and pans, he worked as a bill collector. His first break in politics came in 1987 when he volunteered to work in the campaign of Los Angeles City Councilman Nate Holden. Wesson quickly moved up the ranks of the campaign, from volunteer to office manager. Ultimately he became Holden's chief of staff. In 1992, he migrated from Holden's office to become campaign manager for Burke's fiercely fought supervisorial race against now-United States Representative Diane Watson (D-Los Angeles).

When Burke won, Wesson became her chief of staff and firmly fixed his place as one of the shrewdest political operatives in Southern California. It was from her office that he launched his bid for the Assembly. His district is poor and vulnerable, with nearly one-fifth of the children lacking health insurance and living below the poverty line. The district is 36 percent African American and 31 percent Latino.

As speaker, however, Wesson must broaden his scope beyond the 47th District. If the economy worsens, as many predict, he will have to muster his talents to broker deals with the competing needs of 79 members used to cutting off slices of budget surpluses.

"That's a problem that's going to get dumped square in his lap, said Harman, Wesson's Republican colleague on Assembly GO. "I wish him well."

Alex Gronke is a reporter and freelance writer from Berkeley. Comments on this article may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

Speakers since 1980

- Willie L. Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco) 1980-1995
- Doris Allen (R-Cypress) 1995
- Brian Setencich (R-Fresno) 1995
- Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove) 1996
- Cruz Bustamante (D-Fresno) 1997-98
- Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles) 1999-2000
- Robert Hertzberg (D-Van Nuys) 2000-2001

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Hertzberg's legacy

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

It's been roughly five years since the first full wave of term limits hit the Assembly, and the speakership has changed hands three times.

Now the term of the current incumbent, Bob Hertzberg (D-Van Nuys), is winding down.

How has Hertzberg fared as speaker?

Hertzberg, said one Capitol insider, "came in with high expectations because of his knowledge and enthusiasm, but his own membership became quickly dissatisfied with his inability to change how things were conducted."

In fairness, Hertzberg was thwarted by an office far removed from the imperial speakership occupied by power brokers Jesse Unruh and Willie Brown. "A speaker who's a lame duck the day after his election," observed one Sacramentan, "doesn't have the clout to whip the house into shape."

> "A speaker who's a lame duck the day after his election doesn't have the clout to whip the house into shape."

Some argue that Hertzberg has been further hamstrung by a temperament ill-suited to political arm-twisting. He has been labeled "The Anaconda" for his all-encompassing bear hugging, but the description does not fit his leadership style. He "showed chops" to achieve the speakership, elbowing aside Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles) before the then-speaker wanted to leave. But critics grouse that Hertzberg was "rolled" on redistricting by Senate pro Tem John Burton (D-San Francisco). The *Los Angeles Times* bashed Hertzberg for doling out "porky bribes" to Republican budget holdouts.

Perhaps the low point for this speaker — with his penchant for organization, structure and fastidious attention to detail — came the last night of the 2000 legislative session when, argued one Capitol insider, "as a result of disorganization, a great number of bills which would have been enacted fell through the cracks."

The high point showcases his knowledge of and love for the legislative institution. In 1998, Hertzberg, along with then-Minority Leader Bill Leonard (R-Redlands), launched a program to provide all new Assembly members with "basic training" in the nuts-and-bolts of lawmaking. Staffers, who tend to rotate in and out with their term-limited bosses, also are trained at "Hertzberg U."

To ensure an orderly leadership transition, Hertzberg already has endorsed Assemblyman Herb Wesson (D-Culver City) as his successor (see page 20). When Wesson assumes the speakership next February, he will be the third successive Los Angeles-area legislator to hold the post. This recent Los Angeles dominance reflects both the state's shifting political demography and the arithmetic of the Legislature, whose significant Democratic majorities in both houses has been virtually institutionalized for the next decade.

Democrats dominate both the electorate and the Legislature. And the state's urban areas comprise the core of Democratic strength. Los Angeles County accounts for about 28 percent of the state's population and roughly one-fifth of the electorate. Currently, nearly 40 percent of the 50-member Assembly Democratic caucus represents Los Angeles.

The ability of one individual to put a stranglehold on the speakership is gone. But the ability of the Democratic Party to control it has been enhanced — and Los Angeles County plays a major role.

Wesson will inherit a speakership that still faces obstacles inherent in a term-limited process; he may suffer, as Hertzberg did, from the rapid turnover of staff. And once he's bankrolled Democrats through the 2002 elections, Wesson could find himself a lame duck. He is perceived, however, as less hyper, better at delegating, and less prone to micro-management than Hertzberg; that could make Wesson better suited for the "cat-herding" required of today's speaker.

Realistically, the definition of successful leadership varies with each new class of lawmakers, with the personality and style of each new speaker, and with mutating political and economic influences. In the wake of September 11, the political environment has changed. Bipartisanship is in demand, and Hertzberg has nurtured that. The attacks have exacerbated California's economic slump, and the new speaker will inherit the painful task of molding a retrenchment state budget, whose priorities must shift from social programs important to his urban constituencies.

Hertzberg leaves the new speaker with a heap of unfinished business and only two years to sort it out. But he has also given his successor, and the ever-churning Assembly, the chance to achieve needed legislative grounding and institutional stability.

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe is a senior scholar at USC's School of Policy, Planning & Development. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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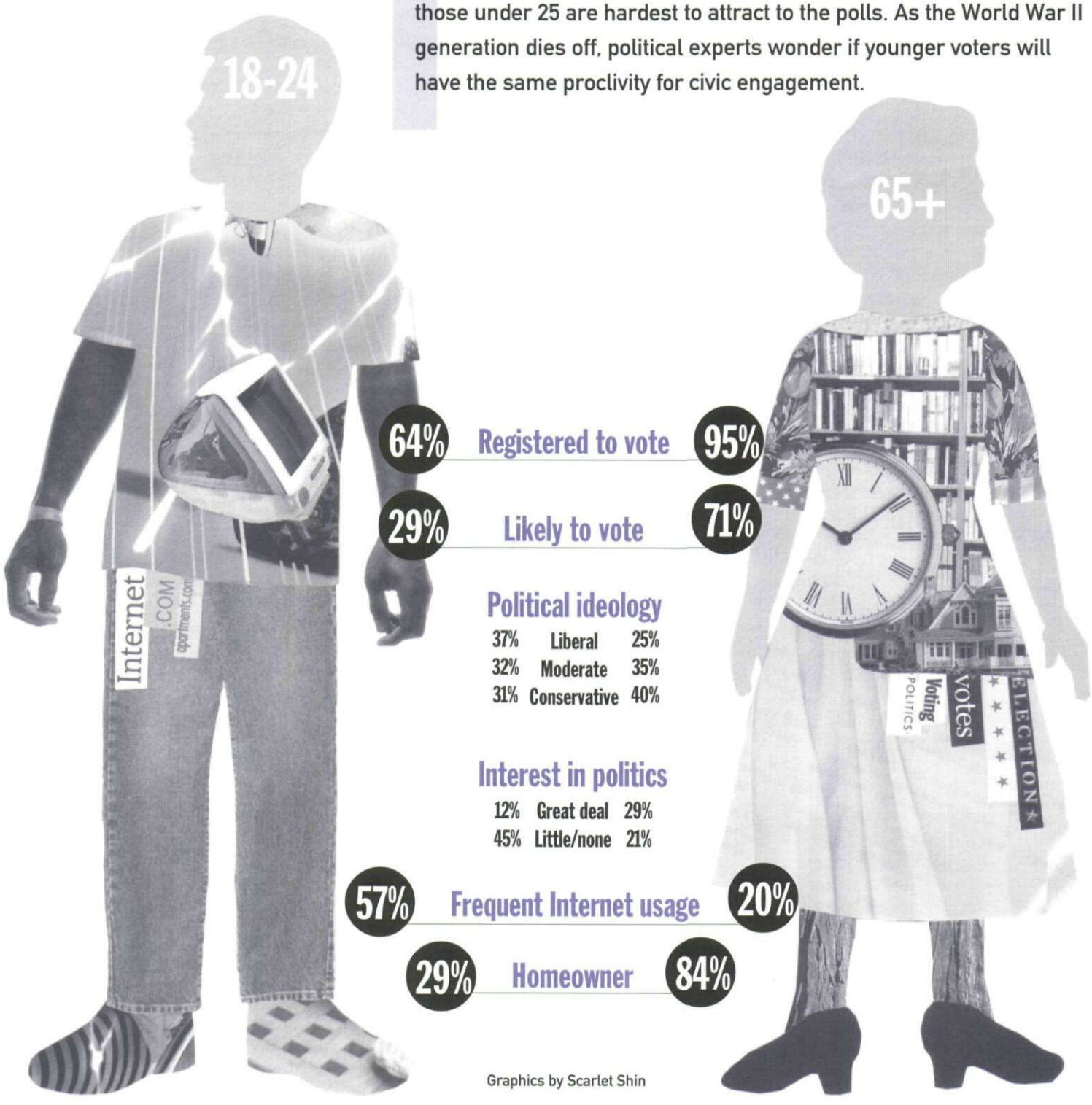
Campaigns: costs up,

The differences between youth and the elderly are no more glaring than in their voting habits. Seniors are the most dependable voters; those under 25 are hardest to attract to the polls. As the World War II generation dies off, political experts wonder if younger voters will have the same proclivity for civic engagement.



18-24		65+
64%	Registered to vote	95%
29%	Likely to vote	71%

Political ideology

18-24		65+
37%	Liberal	25%
32%	Moderate	35%
31%	Conservative	40%

Interest in politics

18-24		65+
12%	Great deal	29%
45%	Little/none	21%

18-24		65+
57%	Frequent Internet usage	20%
29%	Homeowner	84%

Graphics by Scarlet Shin

Sources: Secretary of State, Public Policy Institute of California, Campaign and Elections Magazine

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voters down

Gubernatorial campaign expenditures

YEAR	CANDIDATES	EXPENDITURES
1978	Jerry Brown (D)*	$3,435,034
	Evelle Younger (R)	2,274,772
	TOTAL	$5,709,806
1982	Tom Bradley (D)	6,803,633
	George Deukmejian (R)	4,972,389
	TOTAL	$11,776,022
1986	Tom Bradley (D)	6,137,522
	George Deukmejian (R)*	9,565,125
	TOTAL	$15,702,647
1990	Dianne Feinstein (D)	13,227,903
	Pete Wilson (R)	16,028,590
	TOTAL	$29,256,520
1994	Kathleen Brown (D)	12,251,634
	Pete Wilson (R)*	19,555,243
	TOTAL	$31,806,877
1998	Gray Davis (D)	28,642,125
	Dan Lungren (R)	$23,845,008
	TOTAL	$52,487,133

*incumbent

As candidates vie for a diminishing electorate, they spend increasingly more to capture voters' attention. Over the last 20 years, spending on gubernatorial elections alone has grown exponentially every four years. While spending on television advertising has dominated governor's races, a nationwide survey shows heavier reliance on radio and newspaper advertising in legislative races.

Legislative communications techniques*

Broadcast TV ads	15.4%	Literature drops	76.5%
Cable TV ads	22.1%	Telephone banks	52.9%
Radio ads	46.2%	Billboards/yard signs	86.3%
Newspaper ads	70.6%	Debates or forums	73.1%
Direct mail	76.5%	Internet Web sites	22.1%

*Percentages based on responses from 364 legislators nationwide who employed these campaign outreach methods.

Ethnic diversity of likely voters

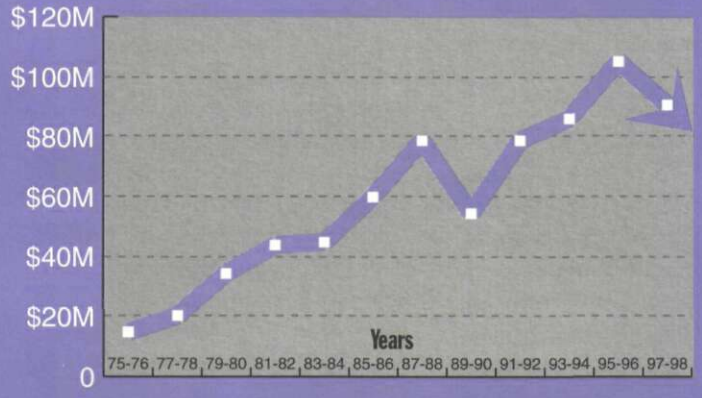
Though half the state's population is Latino, black and Asian, Anglos still vastly dominate the electorate. Latinos have become the second largest voting bloc but are still underrepresented at the polls.

Non-Hispanic white 76%

Latinos 14% Blacks 6% Asians 4%

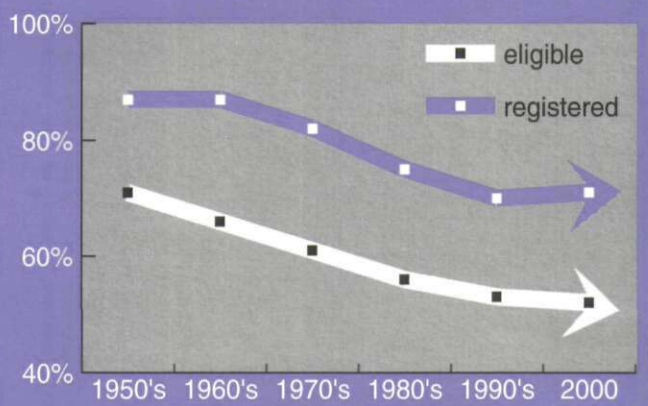
Legislative campaign expenditures

Spending in California's Assembly and Senate campaigns shoots up steadily higher with every election cycle, nearly doubling in the last decade alone.



Voter turnout declining

While campaign spending rises, the percentage of voters showing up at the polls has steadily declined since the 1950's, when 71% of California's eligible voters turned out for presidential elections; in 2000, only 51% did so.



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Disappearing consultants

Despite power and profits, the political consulting industry in California is hurting for new blood. As redistricting more narrowly fixes the outcome of races and younger people forego careers in politics, the pool of campaign operatives is increasingly dominated by older, established firms.

By Noel Brinkerhoff

Imagine finding an advertisement in the classified section of a local newspaper: *WANTED: Campaign consultants. Good $$$. Opportunity to influence election outcomes. PLENTY OF JOBS AVAILABLE!* Given the importance of political consultants in today's high-priced elections, it seems unthinkable that such an in-demand and lucrative profes sion would be so desperate to attract young professionals to its ranks. But, in fact, it is.

Ask any veteran campaign insider, Republican or Democrat, to name some of California's rising stars in consulting, and you likely will get a long pause. It's not that there aren't *any* worth mentioning (see story, p. 30); rather, the number of up-and-comers is so small that those in the know have a tough time ticking off even a handful of names.

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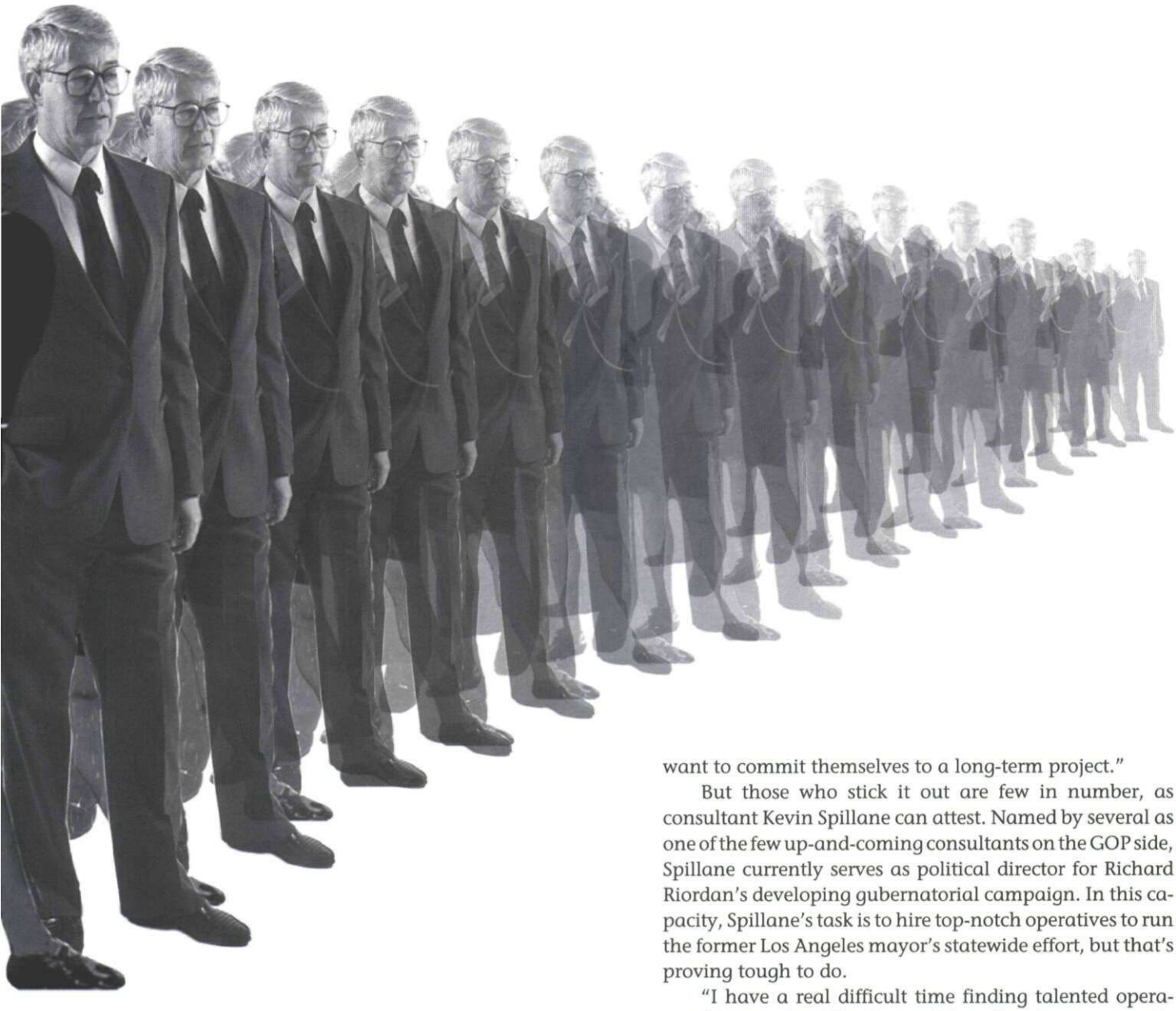

On one hand, it's not surprising to hear about this development among Republicans, given their recent difficulty winning legislative and statewide elections in California. GOP officials already felt the pinch during the last election cycle when they privately complained about a lack of quality political operatives — folks who run day-to-day campaign operations and who often later set up a consulting business. Many GOP campaign pros have steadily fled the state for other regions where Republicans find a warmer reception, particularly Washington, D.C.

This exodus of GOP talent remains a problem, according to Jamie Fisfis, who ran the Assembly Republican Caucus' political action committee during the 2000 campaign. "There's more opportunity, clearly, to be in the majority in the near term by going to Washington," he says. "The people who are staying here are people who want to commit themselves to a long-term project."

But those who stick it out are few in number, as consultant Kevin Spillane can attest. Named by several as one of the few up-and-coming consultants on the GOP side, Spillane currently serves as political director for Richard Riordan's developing gubernatorial campaign. In this capacity, Spillane's task is to hire top-notch operatives to run the former Los Angeles mayor's statewide effort, but that's proving tough to do.

"I have a real difficult time finding talented operators," he says, "and I'm in a position where I can pay pretty well. Good help is hard to find."

Republicans, however, are not alone when it comes to lacking bright young minds to run campaigns. Democrats, too, suffer from the same depravation of good talent, proving that the root of the problem lies beyond party style or popularity. Longtime election strategists in both parties say the dearth of young hotshots is a byproduct of several factors, ranging from the nature of the consulting business to rampant political apathy among young people.

Let me count the ways

Greg Sellers knows all too well how tough it is to get started in the consulting business. A Democratic who owns a small firm in the Bay Area, Sellers says it's challenging for new consultants to get clients, especially legislative ones, because leaders in the Capitol tend to steer candidates toward bigger, established firms with a long track record of

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experience. Even when Sellers tells a potential client he'd run a race cheaper, he often loses out.

"It's frustrating," says Sellers, who finally caught Sacramento's attention when he ran Democrat Simon Salinas' successful Assembly election in 2000. "I can't tell you the number of times I've gone up against, 'Well, it seems like you're good, but I'm going to go with so-and-so.'"

Fisfis says that in addition to their experience, older firms also tend to stick around for a long time, keeping turnover low among consultants. "It's hard to be an up-and-coming consultant in California because the established firms are exactly that — established."

It would help, says Democratic consultant Michael Shimpock, if there was someone out there trying to bring along new consultants, but that's not the case, at least not in any systemized manner. As a member of SG&A Campaigns in Southern California, Shimpock says he was fortunate to be taken under the wings of pros, including his current bosses, Parke Skelton and Steven Gray-Barken, who helped get him started. "I was very lucky to run into several mentors who took care of me," he said.

As Shimpock sees it, the Democratic Party should be doing more to apprentice young politicos and bring them along to become consultants. "There's no real party structure to develop this talent," he says. But not all consultants agree the parties should get involved in such an assignment. Consultant Joe Justin, a noted GOP up-and-comer, who received some ad hoc mentoring when he first began working on campaigns, says, "I don't know if the party has a particular role to play in grooming political consultants."

No political appetite

Before a potential consultant can be nurtured along, of course, he or she must first be interested in politics, and finding those who fall into that category is in itself a challenge. Younger people today, it often seems, — especially Generation Xers — are either too apathetic or too cynical about politics to devote time to campaigns. This, in part, explains why the consulting bench looks so thin today, says Lynn Montgomery, a veteran campaign strategist who serves as director of the Assembly Office of Democratic Services.

In the past, she explains, young legislative staffers left the state payroll to work on campaigns during several election cycles. Eventually they garnered enough experience to go into business for themselves, usually around the

Stars of Tomorrow

A sampling of political consultants seen as on the rise.

By Noel Brinkerhoff

There may not be many of them, but a few up-and-comers nonetheless are hard at work in the political-consulting industry. Although the following list of profiles does not identify all of the rising notables in California, it does offer a mix of both one-stop campaign consultants (who either own a firm or work for someone else) and specialists who excel in one facet of campaign work.

Kevin Spillane, Republican Stonecreek Group

Named in 1998 as a rising star by *Campaigns & Elections* magazine, Spillane's career is still on an upward trajectory, although he jokes that he may meteor to earth very soon. Spillane was one of the few Republicans pushing his party to reach out to Latinos before disaster struck in 1998. He helped former Santa Clara County Supervisor Ruben Barrales with his unsuccessful bid for state controller that year, which marked the first time a Latino Republican had run

Kevin Spillane

statewide in 122 years. Also keen to broaden the party's base among women and moderates, Spillane is running Assemblywoman Lynn Leach's campaign for state Superintendent of Public Instruction and, after launching the "Draft Riordan Committee," is helping the former Los Angeles mayor in his bid for governor.

Andrew Acosta, Democrat Kaufman Campaign Consultants

Respected not only by Democratic consultants but Republicans as well, Acosta has been burning a trail of success since serving on the Democratic team that defeated the GOP-led recall of then-Assemblyman Michael Machado in 1995. He also worked on the re-election

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ampaign consultant
e Justin

"The number of competitive races has been reduced significantly, and the need for political consultants is going to be significantly reduced. That puts a big crimp on business, so we're going to have to find other things to do."
— Joe Justin

age of 35 or 40. But most campaign professionals today are either veteran consultants in their 50s or novice campaign workers in their 20s and too green to set up shop. "It's a really interesting phenomena," says Montgomery. "There's just this period of time when maybe there was a generation that just wasn't interested [in doing campaigns]."

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a political science professor at the University of Southern California and a contributing editor to *California Journal*, blames some of her own colleagues for not encouraging students to work on campaigns and helping discover its professional possibilities. "It's not generally a career path that a college student would ordinarily select," she says. "There are very few professors who deal with the real world of campaigning and what it means, and that right there can be a contribution in getting involved."

It's also possible that many potential consultants discovered other ways of making the same kind of money but without the long hours and stress, according to Shimpock. "You're looking at a time over the last five, six, seven years when people could go into other lines of work that weren't nearly as punishing in the hours required and the emotional commitment," he points out, citing the rise of the Internet job sector quick to draw young people away from consulting.

It is still too early to tell if political consulting will look more attractive following the dot-com-world collapse in mid 2001.

Tough times ahead

The timing may be unfortunate for young professionals who try to segue from dot-com to campaigns, however. That is because reapportionment may have reduced the

campaigns of former Congressman Vic Fazio and former Senator Pat Johnston, and later ran the important day-to-day operations of Joe Baca's elections to the state Senate and Congress. Having just joined Gale Kaufman's office in September, he's already working on Senator Jack O'Connell's bid for state Superintendent of Public Instruction.

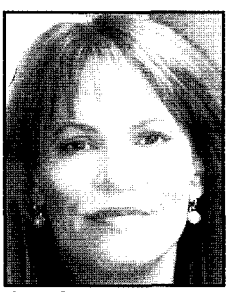
Tony Russo, Republican McNally Temple Associates

Some Republicans must wonder what life would have been like had Russo won his 1990 primary bid for the Assembly instead of becoming a consultant. He lost to none other than GOP turncoat Paul Horcher, who sided with Democrats in the 1995 leadership battle that cost Jim Brulte his shot at becoming speaker. Russo, no relation to longtime GOP consultant Sal Russo, joined McNally Temple in 1992 and is now a partner in the firm. Russo is currently working on Bill Jones' campaign for governor and former Assemblyman Keith Olberg's bid for secretary of state.

Tony Russo

Joan Guelden, Democrat Joan of Art

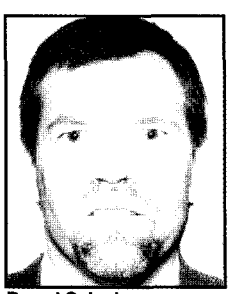
Guelder is a specialist who writes and designs campaign mail. She began her business six years ago after first working for veteran consultant Richie Ross and later for


Joan Guelden

then-Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, under whom she created the graphics unit for Assembly Majority Services. She's run mail operations not only for Assembly and Senate candidates in California but also for legislators in Colorado. Her clients include local AFL-CIO unions in Nevada, Colorado and Arizona, where she's currently working on city council races for this November. Next year she'll be assisting, among others, Assembly Democratic candidates Vince Hall and Sally Flowers.

Bernd Schwieren, Republican Strategic Information Services

Like Guelden, the German-born Schwieren is a specialist, but his expertise is demographics. Schwieren, in fact, has been called the "best numbers guy" in the California Republican Party and is regularly sought out by Michael Barone, editor of the *American Political Almanac*, on his visits to the Golden State. Schwieren has a reputation for telling it like it is, which got him into some hot water two years ago when his analysis, "The Coming GOP Minority," got leaked to the press after the disastrous 1998 election. When he's not heading up the Strategic Information Services unit


Bernd Schwieren

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opportunities. When legislative leaders drew California's new district maps, their highest priority was helping maintain the status quo between the parties. That means there will be fewer competitive seats, starting with the next round of elections in 2002, fewer "real" races where a consultant is needed at all.

Alan Hoffenblum, a veteran campaign consultant who now devotes his time to publishing the "California Target Book," wonders just how receptive California will be to young consultants, especially those inclined toward the GOP, with only a handful of legislative districts in-play between the parties. "If I was 30, 35 [years old], I'd be looking at Texas or Washington, D.C. these days," he says, echoing Fisfis' remark about the flight of Republican campaigners.

Republican consultant Justin agrees the pickings look slim for consultants who run legislative campaigns. "The number of competitive races has been reduced significantly, and the need for political consultants is going to be significantly reduced. That puts a big crimp on business, so we're going to have to find other things to do."

For Justin, it means relying on congressional races, corporate consulting and campaigns in other states to survive. This fall, for instance, he is handling three legislative races in New Jersey, which holds elections for state office in odd-numbered years. Meanwhile, Shimpock points out that, even though there will be fewer competitive legislative contests in the November general elections, plenty of competitive battles will occur in spring primaries, matching Republican against Republican and Democrat against Democrat. Serious candidates in those contests will need consultants.

With fewer and fewer new consultants — and with established consultants aging — many wonder whether the industry will lack adequate help in the future. Shimpock, for one, doesn't see that happening. Like any industry, he says, people will gravitate to it if business opportunities open up. Furthermore, he adds, the state could wind up with more young campaign workers in the near future, thanks to — of all things — the looming recession.

When times are good economically, Shimpock insists, folks look elsewhere to make a living. "Politics always loses people during good times," he says. But when the economy goes south, and those just out of college are struggling to find work, campaigns tend to pick up more potential applicants, including those with lauded pedigrees. "During recessions, my God, you got Harvard grads you're paying $2,000 a month [to work on campaigns]," says Shimpock.

If he's right, then California may yet see a new generation of consultants born in the dark economic months to follow.

Noel Brinkerhoff is associate editor of California Journal. *Comments on this story may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

in the Assembly Republican Caucus during non-election years, Schwieren assists consultants Jim Nygren and Kevin Spillane with their campaigns.

Mike Shimpock, Democrat
SG&A Campaigns

Walking precincts was old hat for Shimpock before he was an adult, thanks to his father — an activist in a local teachers union. After graduating from college with a political science degree, Shimpock went to work for the Assembly Democrats where he worked on campaigns during what he calls the "recall binge" of the mid-1990s. He ran the Democratic field operation opposing the Michael Machado recall, assisted in the Democratic defense of Paul Horcher's recall and later worked on Democrat Linda Moulton-Patterson's bid to succeed recalled Assembly Speaker Doris Allen (R-Cypress). He is now working on the re-election bids of Assembly incumbents Alan Lowenthal and Jenny Oropeza.

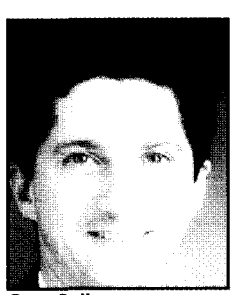
Mike Shimpock

Jeff Flint Republican
Russo, Marsh & Rogers

Flint, then an Assembly staffer, managed the GOP-crusade that removed Republican Doris Allen from office after she cut a deal with Democrats to become speaker in 1995. The election became mired in scandal when Republicans recruited a phony Democrat to run on the recall ballot. Flint's career as a campaign pro didn't suffer from the controversy, as he went on to oversee election operations under Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle and, later, Pringle's unsuccessful bid for state treasurer in 1998. He then joined Sal Russo's shop in 1999 and is currently working on Bill Simon's gubernatorial campaign.

Greg Sellers, Democrat
Sellers Associates

Who better to know how to run campaigns than someone already in office? Sellers has been on the Morgan Hill City Council since 1998, which also was the year he started his one-man consulting business. He cut his teeth in the campaign business by working on both of Gary Hart's presidential bids in the 1980s. Later he helped found another consulting firm in the Bay Area and has guided local government races and school bond measures. Helping Democrat Simon Salinas get re-elected to the Assembly in 2000 will be one of his top concerns.


Greg Sellers

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Connecting the disconnected

Each decade, growing numbers of Californians shun an important civic duty — voting. The biggest gap exists among Latinos and young people. Can these two groups be motivated to vote, or are candidates satisfied to pitch their messages to an ever-shrinking audience?

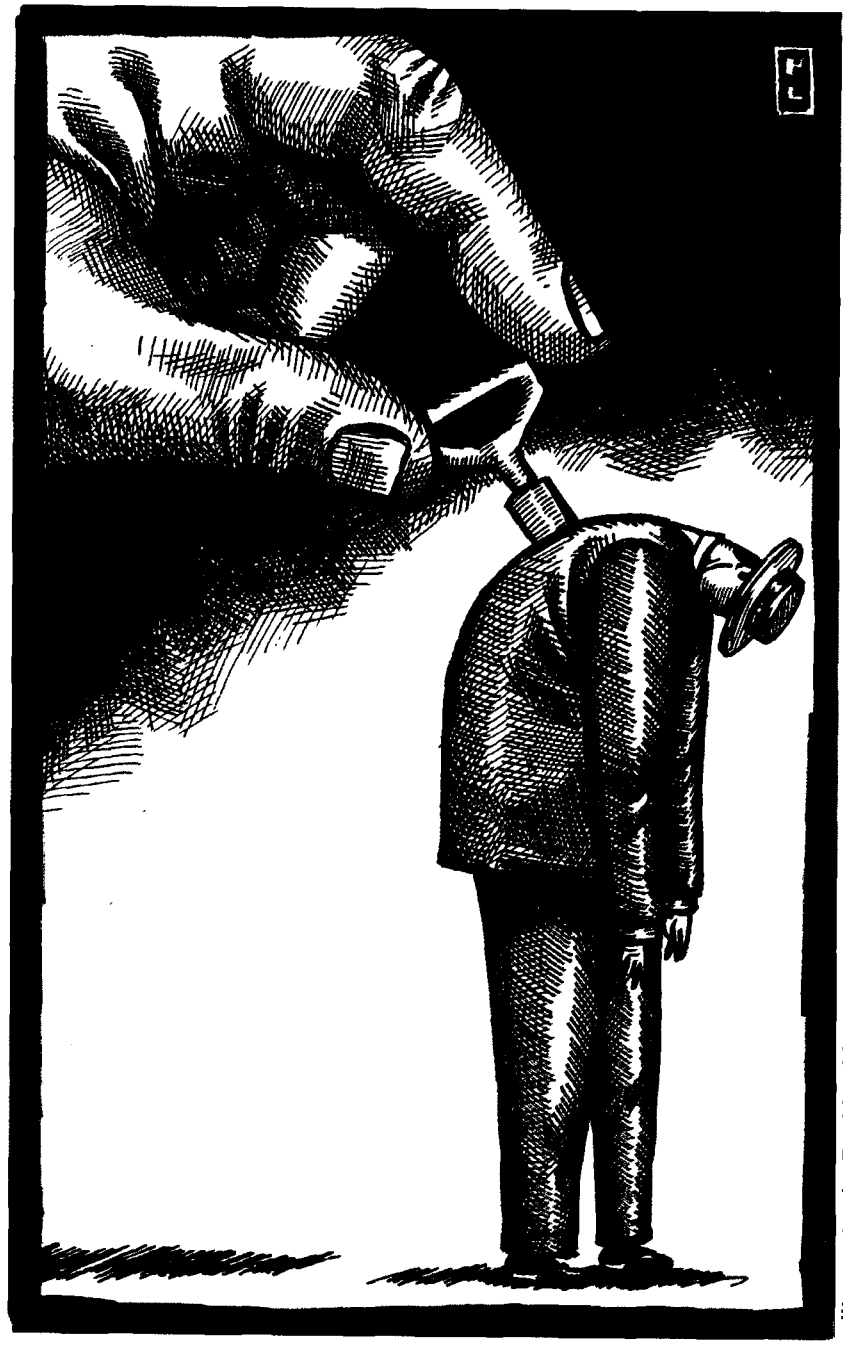

Illustration by Paul Lachine

By Kathleen Les

It has become an irony of modern politics that while spending on state elections has risen astronomically — sometimes doubling in just four years — the number of citizens voting in those elections has correspondingly diminished. If the trend continues, legislative and gubernatorial contenders will collectively shell out upwards of $200 million next year, only to be elected by proportionately fewer voters who do not resemble the diversity of the state's population.

Unless Californians are shaken out of their political complacency by the recent terrorist attacks, 60 percent of the state's voting-age adults will not participate in the 2002 gubernatorial election. An even greater number will pass on the March primary.

The profile of those who do participate is different than that of the state as a whole; voters tend to be older, better

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off financially and more conservative. As a result, candidates once again will tailor their messages to those over age 65 and pay scant attention to those under age 25. That's because three times as many voters — or 71 percent of the former group — votes regularly while only 29 percent of the latter group makes it to the polls.

Mark Baldassare, public opinion pollster

"You have the possibility that a number of factors will come together where a whole generation of Californians will not be participants in the electoral process," predicts Mark Baldassare, a pollster with the Public Policy Institute of California.

Despite reforms to make voter registration easier and voting more convenient — more liberal absentee voting policies, for instance, allow voters to cast ballots over a 30-day period — the electorate is dwindling. Although the decline is across the board and affects all age and socioeconomic groups, the gap between eligible voters and those who actually vote is particularly troubling among the young and Latinos — even though more Latinos now vote than in past elections.

Speaking to a narrow electorate

Whether Baldassare's prediction comes true next year or in the next decade, political scientists all point to the same trend. Fewer and fewer voters show up at the polls, reinforcing a long-standing practice where politicians pay attention only to the few who vote. The less attention paid to infrequent voters, the more turned off, and tuned out they become, especially if issues relevant to their lives do not correspond to those of import to active voters.

Latinos comprised one-quarter of California's voting-age population but represented just 14 percent of its electorate in the last two elections, although that marks a dramatic improvement over the previous four elections. Latinos were only 4 percent of the voting electorate prior to 1994, when they began to mobilize politically in the wake of Proposition 187 — the initiative that targeted illegal immigrants. It remains to be seen if Latinos will continue to close the gap, even though aggressive voter-registration drives have been conducted by various groups in recent years.

"We still have a large number of people who register and don't turn out to vote," said Harry Pachon with the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute. "That's true across the board, and may be particularly true for Latinos."

In 1994, a series of events coincided to make the surge in Latino voters possible. Over one million gained amnesty status in the 1980s and became citizens in the 1990s. California's Motor Voter law, adopted in 1993, made registration easier and more accessible to these new citizens at the same time they were targeted by voter-registration drives.

Income shadows voting

All things being equal, educated, middle-class Latinos demonstrate the same proclivity for voting as do their Anglo counterparts, according to Pachon. And while Latinos are gaining middle-class status faster than any other group, they still lag behind whites

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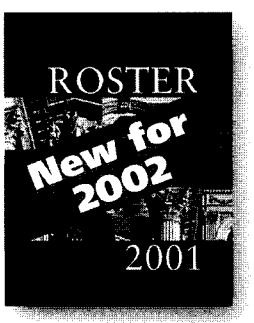

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overall. Many express concern that Latinos are not likely to increase their voting numbers any time soon if they continue to struggle economically.

Aside from the fact that nearly

half of adult-aged Latinos have yet to become citizens, and thus cannot vote, registration itself does not guarantee an automatic impulse to show up on Election Day.

"Latino voters are newer voters, so you need to quickly engage them," explains Leo Briones, a Los Angeles-based political consultant to Latino candidates. "With the right outreach and message Latinos can be converted from occasional to high-propensity voters, he adds. Briones points to the 1996 primary election that ultimately propelled Assemblyman Tony Cardenas (D-Sylmar) into office. It was conventional wisdom at the time that a Latino couldn't win the San Fernando Valley district seat previously held by Democrat Richard Katz.

"We worked and mailed and talked to a lot of Latinos who never voted before, and it was a shock to a lot of people that Tony won," said Briones. "Latinos are like anybody else. When you knock on their door or send mail, that reminds them [it's time to be politically engaged]."

Similarly, Native Americans proved they could harness Latinos in Los Angeles to their political advantage in 1998 with a well-heeled campaign on behalf of their Indian gaming measure, Proposition 5. They credit Latino voters with helping win passage of that initiative.

More important, the recent Los Angeles mayoral election showed encouraging signs for Latino participation. Although Latino Antonio Villaraigosa lost to James Hahn, the percentage of Latinos voting exceeded their share of the population for the first time. Latinos are 40 percent of the city's population but were 43 percent of those voting in the mayoral election. With more Latino legislators serving in Sacramento, experts say, first- and second-generation immigrants are increasingly the object of political attention, and that in itself will fuel a self-perpetuating cycle of civic engagement.

Young and turned off

While Latinos are likely to increase their numbers, there are grave doubts about younger voters, who now vote at an historically low rate. Despite being targeted by high-energy campaigns such as "Rock the Vote," teens and those in their 20s repeatedly say they don't have time to vote, don't trust politicians and think they can make a bigger difference in their community in other ways.

"This [younger] generation is largely into making their own lives better, and that's not conducive to civic participation," contends Curtis Gans, who has studied the downward spiral in national voting patterns over the last five decades for the Washington, D.C.-based Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. Nationwide, turnout among eligible voters aged 18-24 was just 15 percent in the 1994 mid-term election and just below 30 percent in the 1996 presidential election.

The shift toward more libertarian and consumerist thinking in recent decades has trickled down to younger people and are one of several reasons Gans believes attempts to lure younger voters to the polls is almost futile. Even advances, such as ease of obtaining absentee ballots and more convenient registration at local DMV offices, have yet to substantially energize those under 30 years old, he points out.

It didn't help that former President Bill Clinton — for whom many of those under age 30 cast their first ballot and enthusiastically supported — faced personal disgrace while in office. "The first person they voted for dashed their hopes," said Andrea Jones, who helped round up young voters for U.S. Republican Senator John McCain. The 24-year-old daughter of Secretary of State Bill Jones points to the success of the McCain campaign in rallying college students. Jones said that most young people aren't drawn to the two major parties, preferring instead to take a wait-and-see approach to individual candidates by registering as "decline-to-state."

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Turning on the turned off

In the absence of a drastic overhaul of the two-party system or better civic grounding at home and in school, most political experts agree it's a costly, if possible, undertaking to make voters of the politically unconnected.

"Specific issues are what turn voters on and motivate them to vote." Burnside first tried her hand at reaching out to occasional voters in Democrat Jane Harman's hotly contested 1994 congressional race. That success caused Democrats to look toward more sophisticated fieldwork of the kind that elected Harman. Burnside herself used the same targeted-message technique on behalf of U.S. Representatives Lois Capps (D-Santa Barbara) in 1998 and Joe Baca (D-San Bernardino) in a 1999 special election.

"It's a brutal process to turn out [occasional] voters. It's very data oriented, very message driven and requires lots of follow-up," Burnside explained. And, of course, there's the risk that money and resources will have been wasted on voters who still won't show up at the polls or who do show up and vote for the opposition.

"Latino voters are newer voters, so you need to quick
— Leo Briones

Leo Briones, political consultant

Sue Burnside, who specializes in tapping hard-to-reach voters for Democrats, says there's a higher price tag in drumming up those who rarely, if ever, make an appearance at the polls. She puts the hard costs at somewhere between $2 and $12 a voter. It's an amount that can add quickly up to thousands of dollars when a candidate needs a sizable cushion to ensure success on election day.

"You can motivate people to vote if you scope it out right," she insists.

The Democrats' advantage

Technological advances enable campaigns to target potential voters based on race, gender, age and voting history. What appears to be benign nuggets of demographic data can be transformed into a gold mine of votes with the right message. Democrats, in particular, typically delve deeper into the registration rolls, searching for sympathetic voters, according to Jim Hayes, whose nonpartisan firm Political Data in Los Angeles, pioneered the use of computer technology to aggregate groups of like-minded potential voters.

"Democrats are far more likely to play with the voter file, to cut it into more pieces," Hayes said. Democrats will tackle an election by communicating to as many as 20 subsets of voters; Republicans are more likely to reach out to only two or three subsets, he said.

Even with message-driven prodding, campaign experts and party leaders bemoan the difficulty of getting newly registered voters to the polls. "There's a certain amount of cynicism that's been fostered by campaigns themselves, but culturally there's been a loss of contact between the electorate and the government," offered San Diego-based campaign consultant Tom Shepard. "People don't see their vote making a difference."

Not all political experts are bothered by the decline in voting, some even cite statistical evidence that suggests elections are much like random samples. The outcome is essentially the same whether the entire voting population or a smaller subgroup does the deciding.

A stake in the electoral pie

But even consultants such as Shepard, whose job is made easier by a smaller pool of voters, believes democracy is shortchanged by a diminishing electorate. "I don't think the

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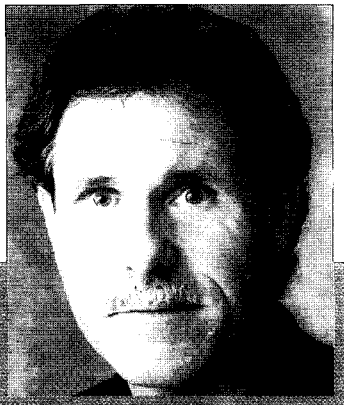
outcome is as important as the process when it comes to voting," he indicated. "There is a stake one feels in the process when voting as opposed to when not voting."



Tim Shepard, campaign consultant

ngage them."

When fewer citizens cast ballots, the citizenry as a whole is less likely to trust the outcome. The result is a feeling of illegitimacy about those elected to office. But perhaps expectations should be changed to accommodate a new political reality, suggests Bruce Cain with the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. Cain points out that, while much about politics has been pushed aside as irrelevant in recent decades, voters do manage to turn out for crucial elections.

Younger people today, suggests Cain, exhibit a new "strategic" model of citizenship, as opposed to the old "it's-my-automatic-duty" to vote model. When issues really matter, voters from all socio-economic groups mobilize, he says. As evidence, Cain point to the dramatic increase in Latino voter participation in the wake of Proposition 187.

"People in the democracy can be lazier than we thought, and the system can still work," Cain said. "It may not be anybody's romantic conception [of how the political system should work], but it can be a functional conception."

But the tide may turn on voter apathy on the natural. First, voters watched the closest presidential contest in this century hinge on less than a few hundred ballots, giving greater credence to the power of the individual vote. And more recently, the new war on terrorism has fostered a groundswell of patriotism that could be reflected in next year's ballot box.

"If President Bush institutes a draft, you'll see youth mobilized into the polls," said Cain. Not since 1973, when 18-year-olds earned the right to vote, have young people swarmed to the polls in such numbers as when the military draft for the Vietnam War their held lives in balance. Perhaps the course of national events, more than any voting reform or sophisticated campaign technique, will yet make voters of more Californians.

Kathleen Les is associate editor of California Journal. *Comment on this story may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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Veterans Affairs Secretary Tony Principi

President Bush's pick to head up the Veterans Affairs Department is no newcomer to the agency. But after eight years away working in California, Tony Principi returns to a troubled bureaucracy in need of a big fix.

By Dana Wilkie

There they were — two of the most visible men in the nation's capital out for an innocent boat ride along the Chesapeake when they found themselves tailed by a siren-blaring Coast Guard vessel.

The way Tony Principi tells the story, buddy Norm Mineta, the nation's new transportation secretary, had just handed him the helm. But Principi, the country's new Veterans Affairs secretary, didn't see the speed limit posted on a nearby buoy. Principi gunned it, and before long, the authorities were close behind with a speeding ticket.

Principi's press aide — seated nearby to make sure this interview goes smoothly — stiffens a bit, as if he might like to steer his boss toward another subject. But it is too late. Principi is in full story-telling mode, his voice amplified, his laughter punctuating sentences: "Here [we] are, two Cabinet secretaries, and the next thing I heard was this siren," he says. He might as well be at a Sunday barbecue with a beer and a sweatshirt, that is how relaxed he is telling this story. "[We] got pulled over for doing, like, 60 in a six-mile-an-hour zone. Of course, I was a visitor from California. I pleaded ignorance."

This is the disarming side of Tony Principi, the side that helps one

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Principi speaks on behalf of verterans

understand why people say the man is as comfortable at a White House dinner as he is hanging with veterans at a bass fishing tournament. It's the side that makes it difficult to find a soul who will say a cross word about him, and that explains why veterans' organizations applauded last December when George W. Bush chose the former Rancho Santa Fe businessman to lead the $48 billion, 219,000-employee Veterans Affairs Department.

"I think the most important thing that he has brought so far is an intangible thing, a renewed sense of optimism," said Dave Gorman, executive director of the Disabled American Veterans. "We respect him. And we trust that he is going to the mat for us."

Born in New York City and a star football player in high school, the 57-year-old Principi knows veterans' programs inside out. But perhaps more important, he knows veterans.

He is a Naval Academy graduate and a decorated Vietnam vet who commanded a patrol boat along the Cambodian border. He was chief counsel to the Senate's Armed Services and Veterans Affairs committees. The senior President Bush chose him to be deputy Veterans Affairs secretary, then acting secretary when Principi's predecessor angered too many of the people he was trying to lead.

During George W. Bush's campaign, Principi led a California and a national effort to win veterans' votes. He was chairman of a widely praised commission on reforming veterans' benefits. Just before his appointment, he was running a Diamond Bar-based

Tony Principi

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Principi comforting a patient in a Veteran hospital

medical valuation company with offices across the country.

Principi takes charge of a VA with a troublesome backlog of disability claims, a sprawling and dated medical system, and GI education benefits eroded by inflation.

"He inherited a mess," Gorman said. "He has a backlog of cases that is as high as we've seen. He has an administration that was pretty much locked into doing things the way they had always done them, [but] that wasn't really addressing issues."

Principi stepped into his job last January with eyes open. During his confirmation hearing before Congress, he warned that he did not "claim to have in my hip pocket an instant solution to all the problems faced by VA."

"If the solutions were easy, they would have been implemented long ago," he said. "And while I am blessed with many friends in the veterans' community, and can draw on my experience on the Hill [and] in the department, I am also aware that much has changed over the last eight years."

Principi's most pressing problem, observers agree, is the turtle's pace at which disability claims are handled. Well over half a million claims wait to be adjudicated. Some veterans wait years — some even die — before they get the money that the federal government owes them.

The reasons for the delays are complicated.

The people who decide who gets which benefits go through more than five dozen steps to evaluate a claim. They consider a web of laws, court rulings and internal policies. They wait months to get information from federal agencies or private companies that have pertinent medical documents. Many of them are nearing retirement, and their less-experienced replacements move even more slowly.

Training is so disorganized from state to state that adjudicators sometimes make entirely different decisions on identical claims. And those decisions are complicated by ailments — such as Persian Gulf War-related illnesses — that involve environmental hazards difficult to link to military service.

One of Principi's first moves was to assemble teams to speed the claims of older veterans: "I want claims evaluated and decided before people die," he stated. There will be new productivity standards — quotas if you will — for adjudicators.

"I am not interested in abstract theories; I want practical solutions," Principi said as he leaned forward in a leather chair, his elbows on his knees, his hands folded. His office is decorated sparingly: Over here is a bronze statue of a POW on his knees; over there, a helmet from football great Roger Staubach, a Naval Academy buddy.

Another challenge is a VA health care system notorious for being inaccessible and dated.

In some parts of the country, patients wait months before they can see a doctor. In others, VA hospitals sit idle because as veterans relocated to different parts of the country, their hospitals did not necessarily follow.

"[The VA has] 4,700 buildings and 18,000 acres of property," said Keith Ashdown, spokesman for Taxpayers for Common Sense. "One of the concerns is making sure those facilities

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are located where people need services."

Nor has the VA kept up with changing practices in health care — the use of more outpatient services, for instance, or in-home care. Some want to let non-veterans use idle VA hospitals, a controversial notion that has some vets bristling. Principi believes it makes sense for the VA to serve others; Defense Department employees, for example, or military dependents. He notes that VA hospitals played an important role during recent Texas floods that incapacitated civilian hospitals.

Sharing a moment with fellow veterans

Finding solutions to these and other problems will take money. Those at the VA point to a budget that just went up $1 billion, but, they note, the increase covers just the cost of doing business. Critics complain that the VA will be underfunded this year by as much as $1.5 billion, leaving little money for more employees or for health-care improvements.

"If the VA doesn't have the money to treat all vets, certain people won't be admitted [to hospitals]," said John Bollinger, deputy executive director for the Paralyzed Veterans of America. "They will have to make some very difficult decisions about who they can treat and who they cannot treat."

Yet Principi has been criticized by spending watchdogs for wanting to spend even more. He wants to raise college tuition benefits from $650 a month to $1,100, a huge expense that skeptics worry will prevent re-enlistments. He is too willing, critics say, to extend disability benefits to veterans whose ailments are difficult to prove, such as those who claim to have been debilitated by the defoliant Agent Orange. Principi would create health registries to help identify patterns of disease, an idea he experimented with while at the VA a decade ago.

"You're hit with a bullet or shrapnel, it's relatively straightforward to evaluate the degree of disability," Principi said. "Now, you have an exposure to an environmental hazard on the battlefield and 30 years [later], you have a rare form of cancer. But trying to show a causal relationship between the cancer and [the] exposure is a more difficult undertaking."

A big part of Principi's job is listening: While speaking in Virginia, at a convention of Battan Death March survivors, Principi met a man who served in a Japanese slave labor camp. When coal mine timbers collapsed on the man, his captors amputated both legs without anesthesia.

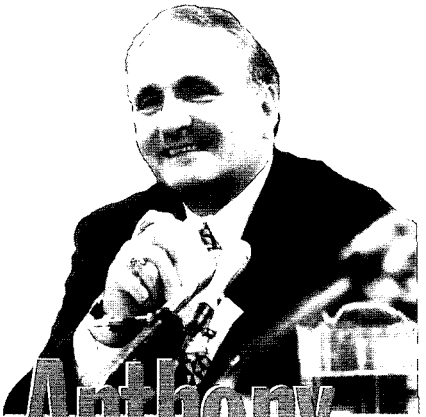
"You really understand what my job is all about when you listen to people very reluctantly talk about what happened to them," Principi said.

Friends describe the new secretary as incredibly hardworking — "tireless," they say. He is a savvy administrator who early on assembled the leaders of veterans' groups for a frank exchange about the department's problems. He won points with the 40,000-member Paralyzed Veterans of America with visits to the VA's 22 centers that treat spinal-cord injuries.

Principi confesses that he usually spends weekends at the office, when he is not catching the Coast Guard's attention on the Chesapeake.

"I think I know only one speed," he said. "And that's full throttle."

Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C. correspondent for Copley News Service and a frequent contributor to California Journal. *Comments on this article may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**



Anthony Principi

Age 57

Home Rancho Santa Fe, California

Birthplace New York City

Family Wife: Elizabeth
Sons: Anthony, Ryan & John

Education

U.S. Naval Academy, B.S. 1967
Seton Hall, J.D. 1975

Experience

San Diego law firm, Luce, Forward, Hamilton and Scripps, 1994-2000
President, QTC Medical Services, Inc., Diamond Bar, 1999
President, the Federal Network (telecommunications), San Diego, 1996-1997
Acting Secretary of Veteran Affairs, 1992-1993
Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs, 1989-1992
Republican Counsel & Director of Senate Committee on Veteran Affairs, 1984-1988
Staff Director for Senator Alan Simpson, 1984-1986
Deputy Administrator in Veterans Administration, 1983-1984
Service in U.S. Navy, 1967-1980

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City under siege

by Marc Sandalow

The newspaper boxes at my Metro station are covered with sheet metal. Trash cans and recycling bins have been removed. Concrete barriers are being erected outside Union Station. The streets around the White House are sealed off to traffic. A 40-square block area around the Capitol has been put off limits to trucks.

Washington is a city under siege.

It is hard to convey the emotional gulf between the East and West coast at this moment of national crisis. Come to Washington and you will feel it. The entire nation, of course, is on edge. At this writing, confirmed cases of anthrax poisoning have spread as far west as Reno. In California, Hollywood executives worry that they may be the target of a terrorist plot, and the world famous icons in San Francisco are under heavy watch.

It is hard to convey the emotional gulf between the East and West coast at this moment of national crisis.

But it is different in Washington, where residents have looked up at the skies since September 11 with good reason to believe that airplanes would come crashing down; a place where Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle's office is just one of hundreds with the stature to make it the target of terrorists; a city perceived to be so close to ground zero that the president himself stayed away during the first 12 hours after the Pentagon attack. Like Sacramento, Washington is a city filled with importance.

Suddenly that importance feels dangerous.

There is little sense of panic among the lawmakers, bureaucrats, journalists and other overachievers who occupy the federal city. The masses still arrive at their desks each morning to perform their duties. Yet a sense of innocence has been shattered.

The Old Executive Office Building on the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 17th Street once felt like an overgrown city hall. Real life characters from the "West Wing" walk briskly through the corridors to their posts in the First Lady's Correspondence Office or National Security Counsel. It was here at about 9:30 a.m. on September 11 that security guards ran through the halls imploring people to flee, shouting an ominous warning: "This is the real thing!"

There is speculation the plane that struck the Pentagon moments later had the OEB complex as its original target. No one who works there now needs to be told that they may well be ground zero for a future attack. The enormous gothic building, originally built as the headquarters for the Department of War, sits directly next to the White House. Some of the offices that face directly onto busy 17th Street have been emptied. Coming to work is no longer a routine, but a risk.

The same is true a mile up Pennsylvania Avenue, where thousands of employees work under the Capitol dome and the surrounding House and Senate office buildings. The well-known symbol of democracy was quite possibly the target of United Airlines Flight 93, which crashed into a Pennsylvania field after passengers apparently tried to overtake the hijackers.

It has been noted that Osama bin Laden returned to finish off the World Trade Center after his previous bombing attack failed. You don't need to tell that to anyone who works on Capitol Hill, where the Army may soon start patrolling to relieve exhausted security staff.

At the Museum of Natural History, where world famous dinosaur fossils attract screaming hordes of young children each weekend, there is now quiet. The Capitol Mall, the Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monument are remarkably free of visitors. Many restaurants and hotels are offering discounts. Others are going out of business.

Washington has not had it nearly as bad as New York City. The huge gash in the Pentagon, just a few hundred yards off a heavily trafficked freeway, is a jarring reminder of the 189 people who died. Yet the death toll and destruction pale in comparison to the destruction in Manhattan.

Washington fears the terror will come back. Just as a U.S. attack on Kabul is viewed as a hit on the Taliban rulers, so, too, an attack on Washington will be justified by those responsible as an assault on the "head of the infidels." Terrorism experts tell Americans to be most on guard at places of strategic or symbolic importance, which describes most of downtown Washington, including the building where these words are being written.

Washington was once a remarkably wide open city. Walking the halls of Congress, driving past the White House, observing first hand the nation's vast bureaucracy was a point of pride to those who worked here. That is changed.

And so is the innocence that went with it.

Marc Sandalow is Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Chronicle. *Comments on this column may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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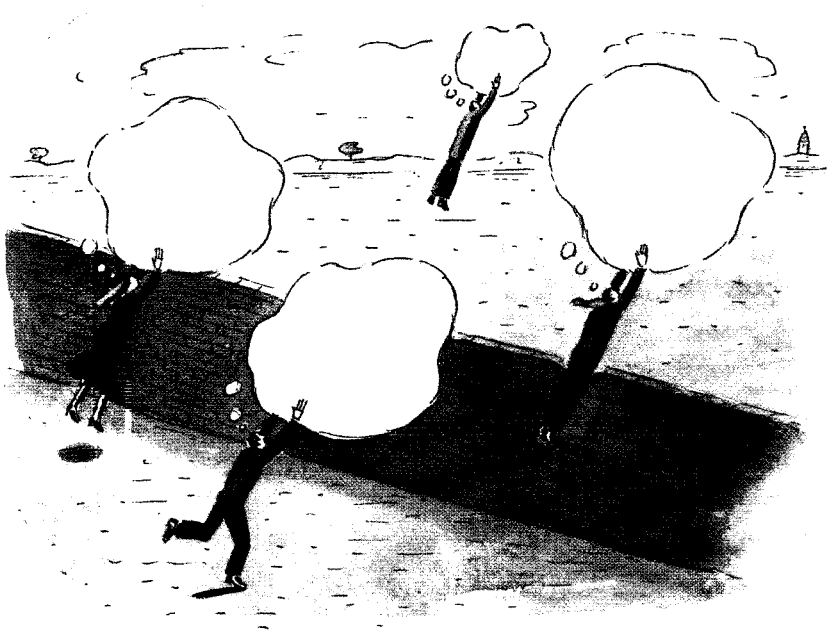
Imaginative thinking can overcome obstacles



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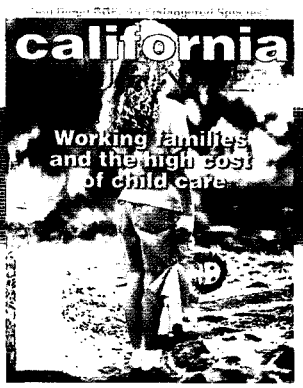

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